

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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THE VALUE OF THE VOTE

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7, with his brother to Dr. Macnamara's meeting to express his indignation at the behaviour of the Government to women. When his protest was made he was set upon by the stewards with disgusting brutality, his nose was broken, and his knee was put out. After two days in bed he made an effort to go back to work, but had to return home and take once more to his bed. From this he never again rose. On Sunday last he succumbed to heart failure, brought on by the shock of the injuries which he had received.

Our Heartfelt Sympathy

Our readers will share with us a sense of profound indignation at the behaviour of the stewards from which this terrible consequence has ensued, and will wish us to convey, or their behalf, as well as on our own, our deep sympathy with the stricken family in their bereavement. In our leading article we have endeavoured to express something of what we feel for the courage of Mr. Bethell, and of those who, like him, are prepared to risk their lives on behalf of the great principle of human freedom.

The "Suffrage First" Committee

We are glad to be able to inform our readers that a committee was formed last week whose object will be to obtain, from electors, pledges to make woman suffrage the foremost political issue of the day. A replica of the pledge card drawn up by this committee, which electors are being asked to sign, will be found on page 113. At the request of the committee, which is composed of men and women belonging to various sections of the suffrage movement, Mr. Pethick Lawrence has agreed to act temporarily as honorary

secretary, and to deal with correspondence at the office of this paper, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Our Readers Can Help

In urging upon our readers to take every means within their power to push forward this scheme of propaganda, and to obtain as many signatures of electors as possible, we would point out to them that the day has gone by when mere general expressions of sympathy or support are of much value. What is necessary is that electors should decide to use their vote for the express purpose of winning woman suffrage, and that they should subordinate all other considerations to it at the next election. By this means, and by this means alone, will they be able to bring effective pressure to bear upon the leaders of the political parties.

What the Pledge Means

The pledge applies to by-elections as well as to the general election, and, therefore, it will become immediately operative in any division in which a by-election is taking place. Moreover, in addition to pledging himself as to the use of his vote when the time to use it comes, the elector undertakes at once to inform the respective candidates and the party leaders of his decision. From what we know of politicians, we are convinced that this steady inflow of letters from electors expressing, not merely their sympathy with woman suffrage, but their intention of using their vote at the next election so as to secure it, will cause a sense of profound uneasiness in the minds of party officials, and will go a long way towards inducing them to get this awkward question

DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

It is with profound grief that we have to announce the death last Sunday of Mr. Edward Bethell, who had been seriously injured by Liberal stewards at a meeting in Camberwell a fortnight ago.

The Facts of the Tragedy

Mr. Bethell was a young bricklayer's labourer, only nineteen years old, who had never before taken part in a protest, but who went on Friday, November

settled, before the general election arrives, by the simple expedient of passing into law in 1914 a measure to give votes to women.

ELECTORS IN THE NORTH

As an example of what may be done by electors in pressing this question to the front, we would remind our readers of the activities of the Northern Men's Federation, who recently sent an influential deputation to see Sir Edward Grey to inform him of their profound dissatisfaction with the attitude of the Government. During the past week this Federation has filled the largest hall in Edinburgh with a great public meeting, at which the speeches of many prominent citizens were listened to with marked attention and evident signs of approval. They have also made effective representation to the Glasgow Corporation to get them to petition Parliament to grant the suffrage to women. We give an account of this Glasgow deputation elsewhere (p. 115).

FORCIBLE FEEDING CONTINUES

We are glad to see that the clergy are taking a strong line with regard to the scandal of forcible feeding, and that a public meeting is to be held on Friday, December 5, at the Queen's Hall, when the Bishop of Kensington is to take the chair. We print elsewhere the letter which Sir Thomas Barlow sent recently to the *Times*, in which he adopts as his own the purely ex parte statement received by him from the Home Office. Following upon this, we print the rejoinder which Mr. Mansell-Moullin, vice-president of the College of Surgeons, sent to the columns of that paper, but which the *Times* saw fit to reject. We remind our readers that in spite of the Home Office denials, we have proved over and over again that forcible feeding is a barbarous process, which, on more than one occasion, has brought its victims within immediate danger of death, and has inflicted upon them life-long injury.

THE CASE OF SIR VICTOR HORSLEY

We invite the attention of Liberal women who think that a man can be at once a vigorous protagonist of woman suffrage and a Liberal candidate for Parliament to the case of Sir Victor Horsley. Sir Victor, though the prospective Liberal candidate for Harborough, has been, as is well known, active in his opposition to forcible feeding, and in consequence has brought down upon himself the fury of Mr. McKenna. He has now been told by the local Liberal Executive Committee that owing to his pronounced suffrage views they are seeking another candidate!

AN IMPORTANT JUDGMENT

We congratulate the Hastings suffragists on their victory in the action against the Hastings Corporation. It will be remembered that the women were pursued by a mob, and took refuge in a hotel, but were refused permission to remain unless they undertook to be responsible for damages done by the mob. They gave the undertaking, and were subsequently called upon to pay a sum of £12 5s. 6d. on account of broken windows. They paid the amount, and sought to recover it from the Corporation on the ground that by the Riot Damages Act the Corporation were bound to pay out of the police rate for damages done in a riot. On Monday last Judge Mackarness gave judgment in their favour. This important decision will, we hope, bring home to the police the fact that they have a duty to perform in protecting suffragists from the rowdy elements in the population as well as in protecting Cabinet Ministers from suffragists.

THE CONSERVATIVES LOSE AN OPPORTUNITY

We are not greatly disturbed by the adverse vote of the National Union of Conservative Associations on woman suffrage. Eight times this body has passed resolutions in its favour and nothing has come of them. Now, for the first time, a procrastinating amendment has been substituted. In the looking-glass world of politics it is quite possible that this means real progress! In any case, we are well aware that neither the Liberal nor Conservative front benches concern themselves much with the resolutions of their respective national bodies. The Liberal leaders are always leagues behind the Liberal Federations, while the Conservative leaders are, by the pressure of events, compelled to be in front of their own national association. Neither party will give the vote to women until it is obliged. But that day is not now far distant.

ITEM OF INTEREST

Mr. Lloyd George has agreed to receive a deputation from the Oxford Men's Political Union next Saturday morning, on the occasion of his visit to the University to address the Oxford Union.

OUR CHRISTMAS NUMBER

SPECIALLY ILLUSTRATED WITH COLOURED COVER

Preparations are already nearly complete for the issue of our special double number on December 5, which is to be in a cover of the Fellowship colours—purple, white, and red—and which will contain articles, stories, poems, and illustrations specially contributed for this issue by men and women of letters.

We are quite certain that our readers will want several copies for themselves to keep as well as several extra copies to give away to their friends, and in order to facilitate the work of printing, which will take a specially long time owing to the colour work, we ask them to give in their orders without any delay to their newsagent or to the Publisher at Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C. This double issue will cost 2d. each copy.

THE "VOTES FOR WOMEN" DINNER

We would also remind them of the dinner which is being held at the Connaught Rooms, Great Queen Street, in honour of the literary contributors, on Thursday evening, December 4, and for which our readers can obtain tickets, price 7s. 6d. each, from the Ticket Secretary, VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship, 4-7, Red Lion Court. Early application for tickets is requested.

A CAMPAIGN AMONG THE CHURCHES

TO THE FELLOWS

Arrangements have been made for sending a marked copy of the article, "Let us pray for the Church Non-Militant," in this week's issue, to all the Bishops and Archbishops.

I make a special appeal to all Fellows, and also to all the readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN, to circulate this issue of the paper amongst the clergy of their own particular locality, enclosing a copy in an envelope with the page specially marked, and, if possible, accompanied by a personal letter. It is important for us to realise that people who hold responsible positions in the religious and educational world are intensely preoccupied with the immediate plans and interests of their work and that it is exceedingly difficult for them to realise, as we do, the significance of the awakening amongst women which has brought the Woman's Movement into being. If the churches could be brought to understand our movement those leaders of it who truly desire to establish a Kingdom of God on earth would assuredly identify themselves with the moral and spiritual issues of our campaign. I should like to see deputations of women going to every parish priest to lay this cause in all its aspects before him and to enlist his open championship. This is work that both individuals and groups of Fellows can set themselves to accomplish.

EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

There are many meetings, &c., on just now which make such great demands on our corps of sellers that we require yet more help. This pressure of work makes it very important that pitches should not be left vacant. People whose interest is aroused at meetings look out afterwards to buy in the streets, and it is desirable that they should always find what they want at the usual pitches. All sellers should make a point of being out with our double Christmas number. The paper should be in evidence all over London during the full swing of Christmas shopping.

A good many of our sellers have bought the new bags, which are most useful and attractive. We still have some left. They can be obtained at the office at 1s. 9d. each.

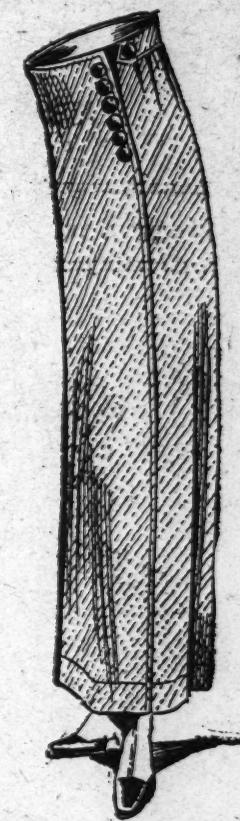
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"LET US PRAY FOR THE CHURCH NON-MILITANT"

Open Letter to the Bishop of London from Mrs. Pethick Lawrence

My Lord Bishop,—My attention has been arrested by the report in the *Manchester Guardian* of a very remarkable statement which you made when speaking to a meeting of men in Leeds the other day. "I only know," you are reported to have said, that "if we had not got that Act (The Criminal Law Amendment Act) I should have become an ardent suffragist. It is this evil which is maddening the women to-day. Be merciful in your judgment if they do wild things; they have awakened for the first time to a realisation of how some men treat some women."

Surely the passing of the Criminal Law Amendment Act last year should have marked the final stage of your conversion to woman suffrage. For, as you know, a Bill to amend the Criminal Law had been previously thrown out in the House of Commons over a hundred times. It became an Act last year, not because the Archbishops and the Bishops, or the representatives of the Christian Church in this country had successfully raised their voices on women's behalf, nor because they had effectively appealed to the conscience of the Nation. It became an Act because women, in their long and difficult battle for the vote, had exposed incidentally amongst many other terrible wrongs inflicted upon their sex the iniquities of the White Slave Traffic. It became an Act because over one thousand political imprisonments of women had driven their arguments home to the public conscience, and because an educational campaign, fraught with intense sacrifice, and, in many cases, with long drawn out agony, and even death, had at last stirred the uneasy minds of men, and had aroused even party women to anger at the latest betrayal of the Government in shamelessly breaking their own pledges with regard to the promised amendment of the Franchise Bill.

Further, you will remember, my Lord Bishop, that the very first time an opportunity occurred for touching the real ramifications of the White Slave Traffic, with respect, namely, to the Queenie Gerald case, the administration of this Act—left in the hands of men who were subject to no direct pressure on the part of women—broke down. For all practical purposes, excepting in making a few scapegoats of a few comparatively unimportant agents of the White Slave Traffic, this Act has become a dead letter, and everybody knows it, and it will remain a dead letter until women have the vote, and are a power both in the legislation and in the administration of the country.

If the National Church would but set itself to secure the national recognition of the divine and human equality of men and women by instructing the public conscience upon the matter, and bringing moral pressure to bear upon the Government to accord men and women equal powers in making the laws that govern the community, more would be accomplished in the cause of social morality and public health in one generation than has been accomplished in this direction for 1900 years.

Now that we women are, as you say, at last "awakened," we want to know why the Church, which has had the devotion and the service of women for centuries, has, in the past, remained, for all practical purposes, silent, while women were being sold and exported like cattle for the purpose of the White Slave Traffic? We want to know why it remains, for all effective and practical purposes, silent to-day in the face of the awful fact that the bodies and souls of thousands of innocent mothers and children are being sacrificed daily to the evil passions of men? We want to know why the Church offers no national reprobation of the indecency of Police Court procedure in cases of criminal assault upon children and young girls, where even the mothers of the victims are turned out of court, and the cases are tried by men in the presence of men only, to the further injury of the modesty and self-respect of the unhappy girls and the lowering of the whole sex in the eyes of the community? We also want to know why Archbishops and Bishops in their public capacity find nothing to denounce in the low morality shown by the light sentences passed upon those who assault and degrade a woman's body, and the comparatively heavy sentences inflicted upon those who assault men or attack property?

We note that Representatives of the Church have issued urgent appeals to the benevolent public for the support of the "Homes for Fallen (sic) Children,"

that is, for little girls who have been outraged by men. We note also that the authors of these appeals are apparently indifferent to the fact that the mothers of the children have no legal status as parents of their own children. I received the other day an invitation, which I did not accept, to a Festival Dinner in aid of the opening of a children's ward in connection with a Lock Hospital in London. Since women know that but for their exclusion from the body politic there would be no need for children's wards in Lock Hospitals, I considered the invitation as a heedless insult added to a deep moral injury. But it induced me to visit a Lock Hospital in Glasgow, and I was taken by a woman doctor over the building set aside for those little children and babies who are the victims of the terrible lusts of men. Many of these little ones had been outraged night after night by their own father, the wife and the mother, too beaten and cowed, too ignorant of the law and too convinced of the hostility towards her of all the forces of authority to interfere effectively. Two pretty little sisters, about six and eight years of age respectively, were pointed out to me by the doctor, who had for years endured this horror. Yet the written consent of their only legal parent, their father, had to be obtained in the prison cell after his conviction in order that they might be secure of prolonged treatment in this hospital.

One of the wards was filled with babies a few weeks old. They had contracted disease by infection from the mother at or after birth. One baby, six weeks old, had completely lost one of her eyes, pus was streaming from the other, and in all probability her sight will be totally destroyed.

This baby is a first-born child. The mother is heart-broken. She knows now that the man whom she married, ignorant of the terrible risk that she incurred, is the cause, both of her own suffering endured for months, and of the blindness of her wretched baby. She says that she is determined to leave her husband, and to support herself, and, if its life was spared, her little one. Anything rather than the chance of bringing another child into the world in such conditions! Heaven only knows whether such a course will be possible. Women's sweated labour in the industrial world is the only alternative to the still more terrible position in which she finds herself to-day. Legally, of course, the man can claim the child either now or at any subsequent time.

Variation of this tragedy confronted me from every one of those little cots. Do you, can you, realise, my Lord Bishop, that women confronted with these living accusations against a man-ruled and man-administered world are determined to win their legitimate power as the mother half of the race in order to save their children? Did you chance to see a leading article in the *Times* on the 7th of last October? Speaking of the women of the country the writer says: —

The children are theirs, bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh, before ever they become the nation's. Of all the wide-reaching effects of the woman's movement none is more clearly right and wholesome than this—that all through the country women are, because of it, increasingly alive to the sufferings and the claims, the rights and the wrongs, the needs and the possibilities, of the children to whom they have given birth.

Do you endorse these words? Does their living and passionate truth vibrate within you? No man in this world can enter fully into the mind of a mother. But perhaps a shepherd can come nearer to her point of view than any other man. You, my Lord, are entitled by your office to the beautiful name, "Shepherd of Souls." Those words of yours that arrested my attention were touched with a certain understanding, a certain sympathy, in spite of the tinge of patronage in them, in spite of the implied apology that you make for us, when the apology really needed is for the words unspoken and the deeds undone of the Church which you represent.

But we who are fighting a great moral crusade look for more than forbearance and for more than sympathy from you. We call upon you to awaken to the real significance of the woman's movement, and to awaken your brethren in holy office, and to awaken the church militant to arise in the name of Justice, Mercy, and Truth, and to take their rightful part in winning the great battle of women's political and legal emancipation as the first victory in a great national campaign for social purity, and for the moral and physical health of a whole people.—Believe me, my Lord Bishop, Yours sincerely,

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

THE BABE'S COMPLEYNT

'A Baby's life is hard to bear,
But Statesmen make it harder;
With everything they interfere,
Except the empty larder.
Their departmental scorn they heap
On rubber aids to breathing,
It is not *they* who get no sleep
When Mother's pet is teething.

They cannot see that flannelette
Is cheap and never chilly,
These members of the Cabinet
Who talk about bacilli,
Who recommend peptonic milk
And priceless Jaeger woollies,—
Why don't they say champagne, and silk,
These Home Official bullies?

When Blue Books say, by accident
At night mayhap I'll smother,
The Board of Local Government
Howls "Murder!" at my Mother.
They make her buy a packing case
In which I shiver, sneezing;
They save the future of the race
From everything but freezing.

Thus politicians cultivate
Electoral adherents,
And Ministerial posts create
For those of nice appearance;
While, hampered by the golden myth,
Men love to weave about her,
My Mother daily grapples with
The laws they make without her.

E. S.

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and

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In Honour of Our Literary Contributors

and

Our 300th Issue

there will be

A VOTES FOR WOMEN DINNER

In the CONNAUGHT ROOMS, on

Thursday, December 4, at 7.30.

Our readers are invited to take tickets, 7/6 each, for themselves and their friends for the Dinner.

After-dinner Speeches by

**Mr. Israel Zangwill, Miss Cicely Hamilton,
Mr. Henry Nevinson, Miss Evelyn Sharp,
Miss Mary Neal, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick
Lawrence, and others.**

Please apply for tickets as soon as possible to the Ticket Secretary, "Votes for Women" Fellowship, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

THE SWEATED WOMAN'S NEED OF THE VOTE.

"Alas! that bread should be so dear and flesh and blood so cheap!"

No more convincing proof of women's need for the vote could be found than the Sweated Workers' Exhibition held at the Caxton Hall last week under the auspices of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.

Round the Hall were tables at which sat women who in their own homes work from morning till night and earn wages ranging from 5s. to 10s. per week.

Shoemaker at 6s. a Week

Most people think that sweated work is work which is done mechanically and which requires little or no skill. Probably the work does become mechanical after doing it for hours and hours and years and years, but a great deal of it certainly requires a very large amount of skill.

One woman, for instance, sat making men's patent leather Oxford shoes. Her machine flew along the many seams and round the corners; every part of the shoe has to be neatly lined, even the tongue; and then there is the complicated arrangement for lacing it up in front. For this intricate work the rate paid is 10d. per dozen pairs—that is, for machining "uppers"; the woman does not put on the soles, and the time taken is at the rate of two pairs an hour. The worker has to buy her own machine, which costs £10 15s. This sum is advanced by her employers, to whom she has to pay 5s. down and 1s. 6d. a week until the amount is made up. Once she had paid 60s. for her machine, and then was forced to go into the infirmary for a considerable time, during which her instalments fell into arrears, and on her discharge she had to begin all over again. The weekly earnings of this woman are 6s. a week.

Asked who put the soles on to the shoes, she replied, "Men in factories; I don't know exactly what their wages are, but a lot more than ours."

Supported Husband by Artificial Flower Making

One old lady was an artificial flower maker. She works twelve hours a day and makes about 8s. a week, on which she has for years, until recently, *supported*, without parish relief or philanthropic aid, a partially blind husband, now dead. She has worked at her trade for fifty years, ever since she was 10 years old, and has no superior for skill and industry. As she explained, artificial flower making is quite a gift; many are unable ever to master it, while to others it is quite easy. "They said I should be a flower maker when I was a little girl and first started it. I love my work, but I wish it was better paid. I make a great box full of flowers, and then I only get about 1s. 6d." Violets and geraniums are paid at the rate of 7d. per gross, buttercups at 3d. per gross, and roses, which of course take much longer,

at 1s. 3d. to 3s. 6d. per gross. Does not this woman need a vote in order to raise her economic value?

Underpaid Brush Makers

Brush and toothbrush making is most complicated work; tiny bundles of evenly arranged bristles have to be taken and caught exactly in the middle with wire, which is then passed through the hole in the back of the brush and up through the next, and so on. The workers are paid 6d. for 1,000 holes, which take four hours to do. The working day of this particular woman is eleven hours, and her weekly earnings are about 6s. She began brush making when 6 years old, and has been struggling in the labour market as a voteless and therefore unprotected unit for sixty years.

Toothbrushes are paid at the rate of 3d. to 6d. per dozen, in accordance with their size; a dozen small ones can be made in two hours.

Children's Coats at 2½d. Each

One woman spent her days working at children's coats, for which she is paid 2½d. each, providing her own machine and cotton. Each coat takes two hours to make. Another woman was working at underskirts, which take one and a half hours to make, and for which she is paid 3d. each. Boys' knickers are paid for at the rate of 1s. per dozen pairs, and shirts 6d. to 1s. 11½d. per dozen. A maker of fancy black braid received 7d. for a dozen yards, which took her eight hours to make.

Boots at 3½d. a Pair and Shoes at 9d. a Dozen

At one table a woman was making "rounder boots," the heavy, nailed boots which poor children wear. She was paid 3½d. a pair, which took half to two hours to complete, and she had an outlay of 4d. per pair for rivets. Another woman was making shoes for tiny children, a most complicated process, as she made the entire shoe and had to shape it on a last. For this she received 9d. per dozen pairs. "Mother done it," she said; "we were all brought up to it." One could not help hoping that by the time her children in turn became workers women will be of importance to politicians and able to sell their labour less cheaply.

Wanted—the Vote!

Two things are certain in regard to these sweated women. One is that their health must suffer terribly, both from their long hours of work and from a scarcity of food owing to insufficient pay. Yet we have politicians who talk of women "malingering" for a sick benefit!

The second conclusion to be drawn, and one to which the first only points, is that women *must* have the vote.

With the vote they will not only be able to raise their status as human beings, as the men have done, but it will also give them a driving power with which to force legislation through Parliament dealing with the conditions of women's work.

NO WONDER MOTHERS WANT VOTES

Eight Shillings a Week!

At an inquest held at Clerkenwell last Monday on a three months' old baby girl, Dr. Lauzon Brown said that how the mother, who was a widow, managed to keep herself, the deceased baby, and another child was a mystery. She was engaged as a cleaner-up at a coffee house, and was out at work from 7 a.m. till 8 p.m. For this she received 8s. a week, out of which she had to pay two shillings to someone to look after the child, and half-a-crown rent.

All Preventable Causes

There was no doubt, continued the witness, that the autumn infantile diarrhoea from which the child suffered (she died from exhaustion) was due to improper feeding. This disease, he said, caused a large infantile mortality, which would not be remedied till they had solved the housing problem and made the lives of the poorest more humane.

So the poor mother owed her baby's death to low wages, bad housing, and insufficient and improper food. Can anyone wonder that women fight for votes?

WHO, INDEED?

"No," cried the anti-suffragist, as she gathered up her bridge prizes and departed for home. "I am unalterably opposed to woman suffrage! Why, if my nursemaid spent her time at the polls, who would take care of the baby?"—LIL



A Cradley Heath Chain Maker
Earning 2½ per Hour.

(Photograph kindly lent by National Anti-Suffragist League.)

SUFFRAGISTS AND CABINET MINISTERS

Death of Suffragist as Result of Injuries—Brutal Violence of Liberal Stewards

"Are They Ashamed to Hear what They are Not Ashamed to Do?"—Sir Francis Burdett in the House of Commons, 1810.

In spite of an extra police guard and police precautions, which must be costing the country a pretty penny, not a Cabinet Minister has managed to address a meeting during the past week without being faced by accusers demanding of him what he means by remaining a member of a Government that persecutes and tortures women for claiming their constitutional rights.

Incredible Ingenuity

Sometimes, with almost incredible ingenuity, women have succeeded in breaking through the abnormal ring of detectives that is drawn round every Ministerial personage of to-day; and both Mr. Redmond and Mr. Masterman have had to meet women face to face for whom they had no reply ready. But, in most cases, they have been men who, with extraordinary bravery and immense loyalty to a great cause, have in one meeting after another risen to make their protest on behalf of the excluded women, knowing in every case that they would be subjected to the utmost brutality on the part of stewards who seem to lose all sense of what Liberalism means in their insane desire to ill-use and eject those who merely try to remind Cabinet Ministers of the principles for which they are supposed to stand.

One Brave Champion Gone

We record on this page, and discuss in our Leader and Outlook this week, the brutal treatment which led to the death last Sunday morning of one brave champion of the woman's cause who, a fortnight ago, was so much injured by those who threw him out of a meeting that he afterwards succumbed to the effects of what was done to him. We have no words in which to express our deep sense of what women and the country generally owe to the gallant Suffragist interrupters who run these grave risks for the sake of Freedom's cause.

MR. BIRRELL AT BRISTOL

Naivete of the "Times"

The *Times* somewhat ingenuously remarked last Friday that "it is an open secret that some members of the Government were doubtful of their ability to address a public meeting in England so long as Larkin was in prison, and no doubt his release is a special satisfaction to Mr. Birrell, who was speaking at Bristol last night, and to Mr. Churchill, who is to address a great meeting at the Alexandra Palace to-morrow."

Not Larkin This Time!

It was not, however, the shade of Mr. Larkin that threw the meeting in the Colston Hall, Bristol, into an uproar, last Friday evening. In view of the cheery optimism of the passage quoted above, it will be as well perhaps to quote the account of what happened from the *Times* itself of last Saturday. When Mr. Birrell was speaking, it says, "a man in working garb rose from a seat in the second row and shouted, 'I demand to know when is this disreputable Government going to cease torturing men and women for no crime whatever?' As the stewards rushed forward, another man near by sprang to his feet and with the words, 'Torture that instead of women,' hurled a dead kitten at Mr. Birrell. It struck him in the chest and fell to the platform. There was at once an uproar, and several blows were struck. Eventually order was restored, but a few minutes later a man tried to throw a piece of wood at the platform. Those near him, however, frustrated the attempt, and the man was carried out of the hall."

An Eye-witness's Account

A correspondent who was present writes that no sooner had the disturbance caused by the first interruption died down than "restored order was again broken by a man asking why the Government were torturing the mothers of the British race. After a slight disturbance he sat down, and after Mr. Birrell had uttered about ten words the first man got up again and put another question about forcible feeding. These two protestors were surrounded by six or seven sympathisers, and nearly fifty stewards attacked the little group. There was a fierce fight, sticks were drawn and chairs broken, and there were shouts of 'Revolvers out, boys.' The fight lasted some five minutes. After this a bag of four was thrown at Birrell, but it hit the chairman in the face. Two or three more inter-

ruptions followed, and the meeting closed after about twenty minutes."

Another Account

Another account by one who was present adds that "A final interruption was made by two men in the gallery, who threw a number of pamphlets and copies of Suffragist newspapers at Mr. Birrell, and asked him when an end was going to be made of the torture of women."

The Ever Faithful

When the last person had been removed who was likely to remind any Liberal of his Liberalism, Mr. Birrell, says the *Daily Telegraph*, "expressed regret that such agitation should be shown in connection with a cause to which, notwithstanding his many sufferings, he had always remained faithful."

It is, of course, a great comfort to every Suffragist who is being assaulted in prison, and to every Suffragist who is being half-killed at a Cabinet Minister's meeting, to know that Mr. Birrell still has a warm

officialdom which one has come to associate with Liberal meetings. A vast host of very unimposing males had been trusted with the Liberal stewards' badge—the white flower of a blameless life—and seemed in breathless haste to get themselves and the audience tied up in a hopeless muddle. So eager were the Liberals to hear their champion that they saw fit to break a large number of the glazed doors surrounding the hall—as a sort of protest against window smashing, I suppose.

"I cannot Hear"

Some ten thousand people, of whom five or six hundred were women, crowded the vast hall and gave Mr. Churchill a rousing reception when he rose to speak. When quiet had been restored Mr. Churchill commanded: "Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen," but got no further, being interrupted by a man in the stalls who said: "I protest against your forcible feeding of women."

As he was in a good position it took some time to eject him, amidst much uproar. The First Lord then proceeded, but was brought to a stop again by the ejection of an un-

MR. MASTERMAN IN MAYFAIR

At a meeting in Sunderland House, Mayfair, kindly lent to the Anti-Sweating League by the Duchess of Marlborough, who was in the chair, Mr. Masterman, M.P., was one of the speakers. Directly he rose to speak, he was heckled by several suffragists present, who very naturally wondered what business he had to stand up and talk about sweating women when he forms one of a Cabinet that refuses work

ing women the protection of the Vote. It is reported that Mr. Masterman tried to silence one of his interrupters by saying, "We are engaged on serious business." We can believe almost anything of the present Cabinet, but that a Liberal Minister should be so lost to the meaning of Liberalism as to dismiss the cry of the disfranchised woman as something less than "serious business" still seems to us surprising, to say the least of it.

SIR JOHN SIMON

Sir John Simon was constantly interrupted at Walthamstow last Monday evening. Five or more women were finally ejected, amid scenes of great uproar.

PRIVATE MEMBERS HECKLED

Private members of Parliament are also finding that they are not immune from suffragist hecklers when they make political speeches. At the Aberdeen Music Hall last week, Mr. T. P. O'Connor was silenced for some time while eight or nine stewards endeavoured to silence or eject a woman who made a suffrage speech from the gallery. The sympathy of the audience was evidently with her, for she was loudly applauded, and after she and two others had been finally thrown out, several people were very sarcastic at the expense of the stewards, who had been almost worsted by the pluck of the interrupters.

Several women also heckled Mr. Leif Jones, at Hucknall, near Nottingham, and the meeting was held up for some minutes during each interruption and ejection.

Mr. Philip Snowden came off still worse at Sheffield last Monday, and in Leeds on Tuesday, when in both cases the meeting had to be abandoned owing to the number of suffragist hecklers in the audience.

BUSINESS OR PLEASURE?

Mr. Lloyd George at Olympia

A correspondent who witnessed the scene outside Olympia, on Thursday in last week, when a Suffragist happened to run against Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd George and Sir Rufus Isaacs, as they came out of the Motor Show, sends us the following:

A business man who is a member of the Men's Political Union, seeing Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd George in the company of Sir Rufus Isaacs and his wife, told him that, instead of spending his time at the Motor Show, he ought to be doing something to end the torture of women in prison. Mr. Lloyd George turned very pale, while Sir Rufus told the protester to stop it and go away from them. The man, however, stood his ground, calling Mr. Lloyd George a hypocrite and telling him he ought to be ashamed of himself.

"Why doesn't your Government give women the vote?" he asked.

"Look here, this is business, keep politics out," said another business man who was standing near.

"It is the duty of even business men to prevent the torture of women," replied the other, warmly. By this time a crowd had collected and the incident closed.

MR. WILL CROOKS, M.P., HECKLED IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Thanks to women like Miss Hodge and Miss Newcomb, who have been recently touring in Australia and South Africa in the interests of Woman Suffrage, our Members of Parliament cannot even escape heckling when they travel overseas. These two ladies were invited to the reception given by the Premier of Western Australia to Mr. Will Crooks, M.P., and other Parliamentary delegates; and Miss Newcomb at once challenged Mr. Crooks on the Government's treatment of the Woman Suffragists in England. He was very much taken aback, and could only reply:

"I am a better friend to the women and have done more for them than your party."

"What do you think to be my party?" was her natural retort, which evoked no further reply as he seemed unable to take up the challenge.

ONLY DUMB LIBERALS NEED APPLY

Apparently Liberal speakers want a dumb audience wherever they go. At an open-air meeting at Peckham Rye the other day a young man who, on questions being invited by the speaker, asked what was the Liberal attitude to votes for women, not only failed to get any answer, but was afterwards told by a prominent local Liberal that if he saw him at any of their meetings again he would twist his neck for him.

Why don't Liberal speakers address working women only?

corner in his heart for the cause he doesn't move a finger to serve!

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL AT ALEXANDRA PALACE

The chairman at Mr. Churchill's meeting in the Alexandra Palace, last Saturday afternoon, "enjoyed an advantage," says the *Morning Post*, "over the orator of the occasion. He was able to speak for a quarter of an hour without interruption."

The same account proceeds to say that the First Lord was "most unfairly handicapped in the delivery of his speech by the conduct of male sympathisers with the militant women suffragists. There were frequent pauses while these interruptors were suitably dealt with." Nearly a score of them were literally flung out of the building. Those who showed fight were "frog-marched, as many as eight stewards, plus a bodyguard, being sometimes employed in the ejection of a single individual. Several tough tussles, in which flower-pots were upset in front of the platform and floral decorations scattered and trampled under foot, took place under the immediate eye of Mr. Churchill, who in one instance took compassion on a grey-haired sinner and called out to the stewards, 'Gently; he is not a young man.'"

Account by One of the Ejected

A correspondent, who was present, sends the following account:

At the Alexandra Palace on Saturday last there were the usual signs of fisted

fortunate person who said: "I cannot hear." Thenceforward the meeting was persistently interrupted by suffragists, a free fight between the stewards and themselves in one case occupying upwards of ten minutes before the suffragists were finally removed.

Home Truths

During the meeting Mr. Churchill had the quite embarrassing experience of hearing a number of home truths being called a traitor, cad, &c., &c. So roughly were a number of the men handled that Mr. Churchill, remembering, possibly, a meeting of his own which cost the Leicester Young Liberals £100, appealed for more gentle treatment. The stewards, however, were doing what they had come to do, and continued their peculiar methods. In many cases clothing was torn to pieces, while hardly one of the numerous interruptors escaped without injury.

The result of the protest was that a speech which should have occupied one hour in delivery took up an hour and a half. Had the hall been less vast, Mr. Churchill would have been beaten hands down.

Begging for Mercy

It is interesting to note, as indicating the mob courage of the stewards, that one of them, who had taken a leading part in attacking a suffragist, actually went down on his knees and begged for mercy when a body of suffragists came up and threatened to punish him for his act.

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DRAMA AND BOOKS

AT THE PLAY

The Play Actors at the Court Theatre

The productions of the Play Actors' Society are always sure to be original. The two plays given by them at the Court Theatre last Sunday evening were both interesting, and the longer one of the two was distinctly out of the common.

Mr. Miles Malleon has drawn a very modern character in his "Man of Ideas," the man who starves and sees his wife starve till she dies, and all because, as he says, "My ideas were always right, so I was a failure." The first act, in which he appears in a country house as a burglar, is one of the best we have seen upon the modern stage. It is thrilling, it is admirably written, and it never rings false. It would, played alone, be a complete little drama in itself; and although the two acts that follow are extremely good comedy, they never quite fulfil the expectations aroused by the first act. This may be partly on account of the acting, for, on Sunday night, the three men's parts were the best filled, and it is the three men who, except for one slight interlude, hold the stage in the first act. But we think the writing of the women's parts had something to do also with the rather unsatisfactory effect of the second and third acts, in which the two women chiefly concerned have to rush from one emotional crisis to another with impossible rapidity. The dialogue throughout is admirable and always perfectly natural. "I know I'm not brainy," says Billy (Mr. Percival Clark), when the clever Alice (Miss Ruth Parrott) won't marry him. "But then," he adds naively, "brainy people are so hopeless."

The little one-act fantasy, "Venus on Earth," was as good, or as bad, as are most fantasies in which a Greek goddess comes back to earth and is confronted with moderns, in this case with three bored young men of the ball-room. Miss Dorothy Brandon has worked out her idea well enough to convince us that she could write a less artificial play really well.

Miss Spong's Dancing Children

Miss Annie Spong and her company of dancers gave a most interesting performance at the Court Theatre on November 17. Miss Spong believes that dancing taught on her system has a beneficial effect both on her pupils' minds and their bodies. The dances were all invented and arranged by Miss Spong, and were executed admirably both by herself and by her pupils. The dancers wear classical dress, and with bare feet and arms are able to dance in an absolutely natural and graceful manner.

The dance appealing most to suffragists depicted the fighting Spirit of Modern Womanhood, and was set to Rachmaninoff's Prelude. In it one saw the long and fierce struggle and its final triumph; this was danced by Miss Spong herself. Miss Marjorie Prince and tiny Dot Witter were conspicuous for their grace, Dot Witter being deliciously unconcerned and regardless of her surroundings as she danced about the stage, like a veritable elf in a woodland glade. The colour scheme was arranged by Miss Amy Sawyer, and was most effective.

NOVEMBER REVIEWS

"The Westminster Review," November, 1913

"The Hours of Labour," by T. Good (in what is called the "Independent" section of the Review), is an interesting enquiry into the problem of the eight hours' day, its advisability, the question of overtime, &c. "The New Spirit in America," by Walter Phelps Hall, and "The Medical Profession and the Insurance Act," by Surgeon-Gen. W. H. M. McNamara, C.B., C.M.G., are both encouraging in their respective fields. The "Recollections of Professor Vambéry" (C. Townley Fullam) are of general interest.

"The Englishwoman," November, 1913

It is encouraging to learn in "A New Era in the American Suffrage Movement," by Ida Husted Harper, that women in the United States are likely to get the Suffrage through an amendment to the National Constitution soon, much sooner, in fact, than they had hoped even a few months ago. The reasons for this make interesting reading, and it is amusing to hear that political opportunists of each party will be only too glad to secure credit for the measure, when it comes. Information as to "Fines and Deductions" in factories and workshops is of value to students of the conditions of women's work, as is also the article on "Female Labour in Russian Factories" (Jean d'Auvergne). Other articles of artistic and literary interest are "Stained Glass" (L. March Phillipps) and an "East African Pot-hank," whilst "The Emancipation of the Heroine" deals with woman in fiction from the days of Fielding to Wells. The critical reviews are always an interesting feature of the "Englishwoman."

A BOOK ABOUT JAPAN*

A slight thread of narrative runs through this account of an English girl's visit to Japan. Violet Courtney stays with her brother, who is a secretary at the embassy; she meets some heroic Japanese officers (it is during the Russo-Japanese War), and some scenes of Japanese life are described, though superficially. There are some excellent photographs.

* "An English Girl in Tokyo." By Teresa Eden Richardson (Heath, Orton, and Ouless). Price 1s. net.

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NEW FICTION

"DIANA AND TWO SYMPHONIES"

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The hero of the story is a good sort, in love with his wife, whom he places on a pedestal apart from his great interest, the forming of a Musical Association, for bringing together English composers and giving them facilities for getting their works performed, and incidentally to induce a spirit of friendship instead of rivalry and discord. He is also composing a symphony, which is to be written for his wife and dedicated to her.

Quite early in the book one gets the clue to the trouble which must inevitably follow when a man, who thinks sentimental love, however genuine, is all a woman wants, marries a woman who is not satisfied with a position on a pedestal, but, because she loves, wants to be part of the rough and tumble of her husband's life, as well as the heroine of his artistic dream.

This is the description of the beginning of their everyday life together:—

Geoffrey would settle down to work, and Diana would settle down to do the hundred and one little things which most men call "nothing," but which they also seem to consider sufficient to occupy and interest a woman throughout the day. Both looked forward to this programme with the greatest of pleasure, Geoffrey because he had arranged it, Diana because she wanted plenty of time to become thoroughly acquainted with all the strange new people among whom she found herself.

The inevitable happened; and gradually, in spite of a very genuine love on both sides, Diana and Geoffrey drift apart, for—

He felt sure that her ideal was to live in a dream-world of her own and to think of nothing in particular and everything in general and their love for one another in both.

So it never occurred to him that Diana, who, except for the perusal of an odd book of memoirs or newspaper articles, had abandoned her great interest in political and diplomatic affairs entirely for his sake, expected to be initiated into the details of his work and his interests.

The author's insight is well illustrated by the apparently small causes which lead up to the final tragedy, when Diana decides to leave her husband and stay away until he realises her point of view enough to come and ask her to return. The difficulties are finally removed by the intervention of a man who is in love with Diana and a loyal friend of her husband's, and who uses the intuition which his love and more subtle nature give him to bring about a complete reconciliation between husband and wife. His letter of farewell to Diana, in which he tells her that a symphony has been written by him, which, like her husband's, is for her and dedicated to her, is a very beautiful presentment of the modern man's idea of the position women should hold in friendship and in love.

The matter of the book pleases me better than the style of the writing; the author is not sufficiently content to let the characters tell their own story, and many of the sentences are too long and involved. Nor has the correction of the proofs been done very carefully. M. N.

SHORT STORIES.†

Woman's struggle for the vote, and especially the militant side of it, have for some time been recognised as "material" by writers of fiction, sometimes treated sympathetically, sometimes—not. Mr. Courtney's attitude is rather one of condescension; his heroine is the little girl "with the blue eyes of an idealist" and a dim idea of martyrdom in a great cause. He acknowledges her rare heroism, and concludes that—"At least she had proved the rare constancy, the ardent faith which could illuminate a suffragette's soul."

The thing men most unwillingly recognise in woman is brain-power, and the suffragette is represented as heroic, but misguided. But martyrs always seem foolish and misguided to the common-sense folk, and ever since history began every cause which has inspired martyrs might be considered inadequate. Even Christianity offered nothing materially advantageous in return for the sacrifice of life!

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Green Enigma." By Stewart Caven. (London: Howard Latimer. Price 6s.)

"Browning's Heroines." By Ethel Colburn Mayne. (London: Chatto and Windus. Price 6s. net.)

"A Handful of Days." By Hal D'Arcy. (To be obtained at the offices of *The Awakener*, 136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster, S.W. Price 4s. 6d.)

"War and Women." By Mrs. St. Clair Stobart. Founder of the Women's Convoy Corps. (London: Bell. Price 3s. 6d. net.)

"The True Ophelia, and Other Studies in Shakespeare's Women." By an Actress. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"The Weakest Link." By Harold Begbie. (London: National Council of Evangelical Free Churches. Price 1s. net.)

"Life in a Booth and Something More." By Mark Melford. (London: Henderson. Price 1s.)

* "Diana and Two Symphonies," By Francis Toye. (William Heinemann. Price 6s.)

† "The Soul of a Suffragette and other Stories." By W. L. Courtney. (Chapman and Hall. Price 6s.)

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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1913.

OUR COMRADE

We are filled with a deep sense of awe as we chronicle the fact that once again a brave comrade has paid the supreme penalty as the price of allegiance to the ideals of liberty.

The life that has been taken from us was not one of the great ones of the suffrage movement, whose name was upon the lips of all. It was not one who had faced danger time after time, and had grown reckless in daring. It was that of a young man who went single-hearted into his first encounter, all unwitting that destiny had decreed that it should also be his last.

William Edward Bethell, who died on Sunday last was a young man of only nineteen years of age, a bricklayer's labourer by trade. Stirred by his generous nature to take his stand with the cause of the oppressed, he went for the first time a fortnight ago with his brother to a Liberal meeting. Dr. Macnamara was to speak to his constituents, and young Bethell had determined to raise his voice to draw attention to the scandalous treatment by the Government of the whole women's movement.

Scarcely had he risen to make his protest when he was set upon with the greatest brutality by the stewards, who, in their blind fury at his audacity, seemed to lose all sense of what they were doing. The tragic story of the events which followed, and which led up to his death, we tell elsewhere. To those who have never been present at a Liberal meeting when suffragist interruptions have taken place, the

actions of the stewards on this occasion will appear incredible; but those who have witnessed similar scenes elsewhere, and still more those who have themselves been the subject of the brutal assaults of so-called Liberals, will know that the facts narrated are of only too common occurrence. And though this is the first time that fatal consequences have ensued, it is by no means the first time that limbs have been injured, and life itself has been placed in jeopardy.

This is not the place to tell over again in detail the story of how the orderly questions put by women at question time eight years ago have been converted into the vigorous protests and interruptions by men to-day. But it is essential that our readers should realise that it has become a practice with Liberal stewards in handling interrupters to be restrained neither by humanity nor decency. At Llanystumdy women had their hair torn out in handfuls, and their clothes almost stripped from their backs. At Bradford the Liberal stewards, after breaking Mr. Hawkins's leg once, threw him down the stairs so that it was fractured again in other places. At Limehouse Mr. Lall had both his wrists deliberately broken by stewards after he had warned them of what they were doing. Moreover, in certain cases, methods of injury are adopted both towards men and women which cannot be stated in print. One such has been brought to our attention during the present week by a man who took part in the protest at Mr. Churchill's meeting last Saturday at the Alexandra Palace.

It is time that the public, and particularly the Liberal public and the Liberal Press, called a halt to these outrages. It is no doubt exceedingly irritating when a favourite Cabinet Minister is on the platform that his speech should be punctuated with interruptions by women whom he continues to keep in political subjection, or by men who are prepared to stand by them in their fight for freedom. But this is not a new method of political warfare. It has been indulged in from time immemorial by men of both the historic parties, and the Liberal public and the Liberal Press are jubilant when the "voice" silences the weighty utterances of Tory speakers. When interruptions occur the stewards are entitled to take all reasonable steps to secure order. But they are not entitled, either morally or legally, to assault the men and women who make these interjections, still less are they entitled to give those exhibitions of brutality which are making the very name of "Liberal steward" a by-word among decent people.

It is not a case of accidental loss of self-control on the part of an individual steward. We are faced with a continuous and almost universal practice which is reserved exclusively for those who champion the cause of woman suffrage. It stands entirely unrebuked either by Cabinet Ministers who with their own eyes have seen perpetrated some of the most disgraceful outrages, or by the official Liberal Press whose own reporters must have brought back over and over again vivid tales of the sickening scenes which they have witnessed. From these facts we are forced to the conclusion that this brutality is part of a deliberate policy to suppress the woman's agitation by violence, and is of a piece with the license given to the police to assault woman suffragists in the streets, and with the incitements offered to the rougher element in the mob to break up suffrage meetings in the parks and elsewhere.

But we cannot close this article with an expression of indignation, however grave or however merited. Our thoughts to-day are with our dead comrade. In his memory would we dedicate our lives afresh to the sacred cause of the emancipation of womanhood, and to the still wider service of humanity of which this forms so necessary a part.

He has gone down to the grave, and his very name will be forgotten; but his great sacrifice will form for ever part of the heritage of freedom in which all the generations of men and women are blest and sanctified.

THE WITCH TRIALS OF THE 16th CENTURY

By Joseph Clayton.

I Anti-feminism is no new thing. To-day, in these islands, it conspicuously takes the form of resisting the claim of women for political enfranchisement. Four hundred years ago it was responsible for the horrors of the Witch Trials in Germany and Switzerland. The authors of the "Witch Hammer" ("Malleus Maleficarum"), of 1487, A.D., have their successors in our own time in Sir Almroth Wright and Mr. Belfort Bax, in Asquith and McKenna, and in G. K. Chesterton and divers bishops and curates. Our prison doctors no more refuse to carry out the hideous instructions of an anti-feminist Home Office than the official executioners declined to torture the victims of the Witch Trials in the sixteenth century. Then, as now, anti-feminism in its hour despised those who pleaded for justice, mercy, and the exercise of a reasonable common sense.

We may date the Witch Trials from the Bull of Pope Innocent VIII. in December, 1484, for this Bull gave full Papal authority to two Dominican inquisitors in Germany, Henry Institoris and James Sprenger, to root out witchcraft and sorcery, and called on the authorities in church and state to render every assistance to the said inquisitors. And these two Dominicans were the authors of the "Witch Hammer," which was published (in Latin) in 1486, and reprinted in 1574, 1576, 1582, 1588, 1598, and 1600.*

Of course, neither the papal bull nor the "Witch Hammer" actually started the Witch Trials. Throughout the Middle Ages, and apparently from the beginnings of civilisation, witchcraft and sorcery had been penal offences. Dabblers in magic and "occultism" were "heretics" according to the established doctrines of the Christian Church from the earliest centuries. But witch trials and heresy hunts were rare and occasional things, and the horrible fact is that this Bull of Pope Innocent VIII. and the "Witch Hammer" of the two Dominicans made such trials and hunting common, and taught Germany that it was a praiseworthy performance to torture and burn women suspected of sorcery. And, when the split came in the Church, Luther and Calvin, and their Protestant disciples, so far from repudiating the campaign against women, were infinitely more active, carrying the witch trials into many parts of Europe, where these atrocities had been hitherto unknown, and making the countries of the "Reformed" religion far worse places for women than the Catholic lands. (Germany, Protestant Switzerland, and, later, Denmark and Sweden, were the chief areas of the persecution of witches. Italy, France, and Spain were practically immune. Scotland was blood guiltier than England, but in Great Britain generally witch trials were not of frequent occurrence, and the execution of men or women by burning was never popular in England.)

Belief in witchcraft and sorcery, that is in the criminal intercourse of human beings with evil spirits for the accomplishment of supernatural (or super-human) deeds, was common enough in Europe at the end of the fifteenth century, and in Germany it seems to have been handed down from pre-Christian days. Legends of the Venusberg, of the Witches' Sabbath, and of dealings with the devil date back to heathendom, and were never really rooted out in Germany when its peoples became Christian.

The "Witch Hammer."

But there was no positive anti-feminist bias in these legends, and no special campaign against women in the prosecutions for witchcraft before the publication of the "Witch Hammer" and the mission of its authors. (Besides, the more sensible and enlightened of the clergy always steadily set their faces against the witchcraft superstition, but they were in a minority, and were powerless before the Papal Bull and the hammering of the two Dominican inquisitors.) The evil wrought by the "Malleus Maleficarum" was threefold. (1) It declared that sorcery, the criminal intercourse with the devil, worked injuries, and was to be punished with death, whereas hitherto it was the heresy of practising sorcery and "other fooleries" that had been condemned—as it is to-day by the Catholic Church. Thus, instead of discouraging the superstitions of the time, the "Hammer" directly countenanced them. (2) It declared that the crimes of witchcraft and sorcery were mainly the work of women; and directly incited to the persecution of women, by announcing that women were more easily duped by the devil, more revengeful and therefore more addicted to seeking the aid of the devil, and more talkative and therefore more given to passing on the

secrets of the devil's magic to others. Poor women rather than rich were addicted to witchcraft, said the "Hammer," and the old rather than the young. (3) The method for the conduct of witch trials, and the use of torture was laid down.

The "Witch Hammer" came out with no official imprimatur, and the only persons who gave it a qualified approval were four professors at Cologne. But its authors, elderly men both, were armed with Pope Innocent's Bull, and at their cry the sport of witch-baiting began in earnest in Germany. In vain sensible and humane men stood aghast at the ravening of the witch hunters. The Bishop of Brixen said outright that he thought Institoris, the more active of the two Dominicans, was crazy, and in his second childhood: "I am distressed about this monk," the Bishop wrote. "I find in the Pope's Bull that he has been inquisitor before under a number of popes, but he seemed to me, however, 'propter senium,' to have become quite childish when I heard him here at Brixen with the chapter."

Death to Women.

On the other hand the Emperor Maximilian I. backed up the inquisitors all round. It is impossible to give anything like the complete figures of the victims of the witch trials for the next hundred years in Germany. Hardly a town escaped in some districts, and for every man put to death, ten women were burnt. The crimes usually alleged against the witch were: destruction of crops by hail through the devil's agency, stealing and killing of children, the changing into black he-goats, and the injury to others by casting some spell of sickness or disease upon them. Torture was employed to procure confession of guilt, and as the rack was not to be used twice on the same person, the judges said on the second or third applications, "we are only continuing the process, not repeating it."

Innocent and guilty alike (for some of the persons

convicted had really injured their neighbours) once arrested were doomed. For

The witch superstition had become such a fixed idea with most of the inquisitors and judges that they were convinced at the outset of the guilt of the accused persons, and considered it their duty to wring out a confession by persistent torture.—Duhr.

A Jesuit, Frederick von Spee, vainly denounced the wicked folly of this procedure, writing—

Woe to the poor wretch who has once set foot in the torture chamber! He will not be let out again till he has confessed everything imaginable. I have often thought to myself that the reason why we are not all of us avowed sorcerers is only that torture has never fallen to our lot; and very true is the boast recently made by the inquisitor of a great prince that if the Pope himself should come under his hands and his torturings, even his Holiness would end in confessing himself a sorcerer.

No woman was safe from the witch hunters in some parts of Germany at the close of the fifteenth century, and for the next hundred years. The feeble minded and mentally afflicted were an easy prey, and the sane and healthy minded were often driven mad by the ingenuities of the torture chamber.

The number of innocent victims was out of all proportion to the guilty. In the first place, in the witch trials, in many cases, it is a question of mentally afflicted persons, suffering from illusions of sight or hearing, and all that they say about the devil and his dominion over all mental and bodily life, about devil's arts, and devil's brides, sabbaths and orgies, is simply what they had heard from their youth up, and had come in consequence to think they had themselves experienced. Of mental diseases, however, the people of that age, speaking generally, had little understanding; they regarded them as something contrary to nature, as evidence of punishable magic or necromantic influences; not seldom, also, other diseases, epilepsy, hysterical seizures, or somnambulism, were treated as sorcery and witchcraft, and their victims burnt to death.†

(To be continued.)

† See Janssen's *History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages*. English Translation. Vol. XVI. (Kegan Paul, 1907.)

"SUFFRAGE FIRST" CAMPAIGN

Formation of a Special Committee—Issue of a Pledge Card for Electors

As our readers may have seen announced in the Press at the end of last week, a group of men and women, to whom Woman Suffrage means very much more than a mere academic question of theoretic justice, have decided to form themselves into a committee to be called the "Suffrage First" Committee.

The object of this committee will be to obtain from as many electors as possible in every Parliamentary division throughout the country a pledge that unless women have been already enfranchised, they will at the next election in their division put the cause of Woman Suffrage first in deciding how to cast their votes.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence, one of the editors of this paper, has agreed to act temporarily as honorary secretary of the committee, and all correspondence relating to it may be addressed to this office—47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

A pledge card for electors has been drawn up by the committee and can now be obtained from the "Suffrage First" Committee Office at the above address. The text of the card, which is in the form of a four-page folder, is as follows:—

SUFFRAGE FIRST

REALIZING that "votes for women" is the most urgent and vital reform of to-day and must take precedence of any further social legislation because—

(a) Government can only securely rest on the consent of the governed.

(b) The terrible conditions under which many women live and work make it essential that women should be recognised as citizens.

(c) No legislation can be satisfactory so long as the House of Commons is only representative of men.

I undertake, as a parliamentary elector, that, unless women have been already enfranchised, in using my vote at the next election I will put woman suffrage first.

And in the meanwhile I will acquaint the candidates and their agents in my division

of my intention, and will take all other steps in my power to press forward this reform.

Signature

Parliamentary Division

Address

WHAT TO DO AT ONCE

1. Write to the candidate of each of the political parties in the division and their agents informing them that you regard Woman Suffrage as the foremost political reform of the day, and that unless it be carried before the next election your vote will be dependent upon the attitude of the parties towards it.

2. Write to all members of Parliament with whom you are personally acquainted to the same effect.

3. If you voted Liberal at the last election write to Mr. Asquith, Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Lloyd George, and the chief Liberal Whip, at the House of Commons, and tell them that though you voted for the Liberal candidate then, you are disgusted with the way the Government has dealt with the woman's question, and that you will use your vote at the next election in the interests of Woman Suffrage.

4. If you voted Labour at the last election write to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and to the chief Labour Whip to the same effect, and also to other members of the Labour Party.

5. If you voted Conservative, write to Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Walter Long, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, and the chief Conservative Whip, and tell them that you voted for the Conservative candidate then, but that you will not do so at the next election unless you are satisfied that it is in the interests of Woman Suffrage for you to do so.

6. Attend all political meetings in your constituency with the object of putting questions on the subject of votes for women.

7. Try to arrange for deputations to your member and to the candidates of the other political parties to urge upon them the importance of this question.

8. Write to the local papers whenever matters of current importance relating to Woman Suffrage arise, such, for instance, as speeches by Cabinet Ministers or leading members of the Opposition, replies by your local member or candidates of the other parties in the division, the treatment of women in prison, &c., &c.

9. You can also render important service to the movement by standing up for it in the course of private conversation with your acquaintances, by explaining (whatever view you may take of revolutionary actions) that women have deep-seated grievances which have led to such actions, by supporting with your presence all Suffrage meetings held in your vicinity, and by inducing other electors to sign this pledge.

* No translation was made of the "Malleus Maleficarum," as far as I am aware, and the Latin is very cracked and hard to read. Two copies can be seen at the British Museum.

COERCION AND FORCIBLE FEEDING

"Treat Me as a Free Man and I Devote Myself and All I Have to Your Service; But Treat Me as a Slave and You Will Have Neither Me Nor Mine."—Anselm's Reply to William Rufus.

THE HOME OFFICE AND THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS

The following correspondence, over the signature of Sir Thomas Barlow, President of the Royal College of Physicians, appeared in the *Times* last Saturday:

Sir,—During the past fortnight I have received a number of letters respecting forcible feeding of Suffragist prisoners, and I have been urged, as President of the Royal College of Physicians, to use such influence as I might possess to enable the prison doctors to be relieved from the obligation of performing the operation in question in cases of danger from starvation. It has been asserted by my correspondents in the most confident terms that forcible feeding is employed at present not for the purpose of saving life, but as a punitive and disciplinary measure. If that were indeed the fact I should willingly join with my correspondents in condemnation of the practice.

But is it a fact? It appeared to me that the straightforward course was for me to apply directly to the Home Office for information on this point. The accompanying letter gives the reply which I have received from Sir Edward Troup, the Permanent Under-Secretary, and I am authorised to publish it:

"Home Office, Whitehall, S.W., Nov. 11, 1913.

"Dear Sir Thomas,—I need hardly say that there is not an atom of truth in the statement that forcible feeding has been resorted to as a 'punitive or disciplinary measure.' That is a lie which has been deliberately propagated as part of the Suffragist campaign. I have no doubt some of your correspondents have been brought to believe it, but those from whom it originated must be well aware that it has no foundation.

Forcible feeding has never been used in the prisons except when necessary as a medical measure; and even when it would have been necessary as a medical measure the Home Secretary has frequently relieved the prison authorities from that necessity by releasing the prisoner. Since the Home Secretary obtained power under the Act passed last April to release prisoners temporarily in case of ill-health caused by their own misconduct, there have been only three cases of Suffragists being forcibly fed. These three were all women awaiting trial on charges of arson, and it was practically certain from their previous history and from their own statements that if they were released on temporary discharge they would within a week or two begin to commit fresh outrages. One of them had been released four times, and on each occasion within a few days of her discharge was arrested for a fresh offence of window-breaking or of arson. At the present moment no woman is being forcibly fed. One of the three resumed taking her food in the ordinary way; another was released when she succeeded in 'regurgitating' the whole of her food, so that the feeding became ineffective; and the third when she showed symptoms of appendicitis, of which she admitted she had had previous attacks.

"I may add that in all questions relating to forcible feeding we have been advised by a distinguished physician, whose experience of asylum work is exceptionally wide. He speaks in the highest terms of the skilful way in which the forcible feeding is carried out by the prison medical officers, who have nearly always asylum experience, and by the female warders. In a recent letter to me he said:

"I have seen the forcible feeding carried out in Holloway on several occasions, and I am certain that the wardresses do their work in a thoroughly efficient manner. The cases at which I have been present at the feeding have been scattered over a somewhat lengthened period, but in no one instance could the wardresses' work of holding the prisoner have been more humanely or efficiently carried out by asylum nurses. It is true that the resistance offered by the Suffragists is at times great and skilfully effected, but in my opinion the wardresses are thoroughly competent to carry out their duties. . . . The difference between asylum cases and the prison ones lies in the thought-out resistance which the Suffragist offers, even when efficiently held by the wardresses."

"I have shown this letter to the Home Secretary, and he approves of it.—Yours sincerely,

EDWARD TROUP.
"Sir Thomas Barlow, Bt., K.C.V.O., F.R.S., M.D., &c."

Having regard to the above authoritative statement, I submit (1) that there is at present no forcible feeding of Suffragist prisoners; (2) that since April only in three cases of Suffragist prisoners has forcible feeding been employed; (3) that there is no foundation for the statement made by all my correspondents that forcible feeding is employed as a punitive and disciplinary measure. I fail to see any reason why I should intervene by criticism or condemnation.—I remain, sir, your obedient servant,

THOMAS BARLOW.
10, Wimpole Street, Nov. 14.

MR. C. MANSELL-MOULLIN'S ANSWER

The following answer to Sir Thomas Barlow, which was at once sent to the *Times* by Mr. C. Mansell-Moullin, was refused insertion by the editor of that paper:

To the Editor of the *Times*.

Dear Sir,—Sir T. Barlow has delivered his judgment on the question of forcible feeding as practised in H.M.'s Prisons on the strength of an official denial. He does not say that he has made an enquiry himself, nor that he has heard any evidence from the other side. As a testimony to Sir T. Barlow's belief in the value of official denials such a letter is important. As an opinion upon the point at issue it is not.

Men's intentions can only be judged of by what they say or do. It is possible that the Home Secretary may not intend to make use of forcible feeding as a means of torture (the idea that it will prolong life in prison is, of course, absolutely contradicted by the facts), but the statements the Home Secretary made in the House during the debate on the Second Reading of the Cat and Mouse Bill; the subsequent selection by the Home Office of prisoners who were to be forcibly fed; the accounts given by the prisoners of the way in which they were treated; the injuries they sustained, and the remarks made to them by Home Office officials while they were being fed, prove beyond all question that whatever intentions may have been, forcible feeding in practice is a horrible form of torture, a disgrace to any country calling itself Christian.—Yours,

C. MANSELL-MOULLIN,
M.D., OXON., F.R.C.S.
69, Wimpole Street, W., November 13.

ANOTHER REJECTED ADDRESS

Lieutenant Cather also sends us a letter, which has been rejected by the *Times*, in which he says:

Sir Thomas Barlow, having been assured by many correspondents that Forcible Feeding is being used as a punitive and disciplinary measure, and having been urged to use his influence against it, has thought it best to ask for a statement from the accused party. He has received a reply to the following effect:

The Home Secretary has frequently not insisted on the necessity of feeding prisoners by force, and has recently, indeed, only done so in the cases of three exceptionally dangerous women against whom his "Cat and Mouse Act" has proved ineffective. With these three women the result of the treatment has been that in one case the resistance of the prisoner has been overcome, in another case appendicitis has been induced, and in the third it has been utterly useless.

An anonymous physician, with considerable knowledge of asylums, has seen the treatment applied to various prisoners, whose names he does not mention, on various occasions which he does not specify, and considers that the medical officers feed the prisoners very cleverly, and that the wardresses hold them down as humanely as asylum nurses could do under the circumstances of operating on sane persons in spite of their thought-out resistance. This you are expected to accept as proof positive that in the hundreds of cases which he did not see there has been nothing to complain of.

That is how Sir Edward Troup's letter translates itself to me. Seeing that the President of the Royal College of Physicians has not even mentioned the fact that well-known and reputable members of his profession have set their names to statements of the grave results of the "skilful" treatment applied, and that abundant testimony is available of the frequently unscientific, insanitary, and violent manner of its application, his dementi is not likely to set at rest the doubts of even the most trustful.

That it rests with the Home Secretary, and not with the Medical Officer, to say which of a number of hunger-striking prisoners is to be released without forcible feeding, and which is to be forcibly fed

till the bodily or mental disorder induced makes further detention impossible, is undeniable, is not, indeed, denied. That the President of the Royal College of Physicians should declare that there is no necessity for him to criticise or condemn a past or future abuse of an honourable profession because, forsooth, it is not occurring at the moment when he writes, is amazing.

I trust that when Sir Thomas Barlow has examined the evidence on both sides, he will reconsider a judgment which is not in accordance even with the admissions of the Home Office.

AT THE ACTRESSES' MEETING

At a crowded meeting of the Actresses' Franchise League, held in the Shaftesbury Theatre on Tuesday afternoon, with Miss Lena Ashwell in the chair, the Rev. Lewis Donaldson stirred the indignation of the audience by his denunciation of the treatment of Suffragette prisoners. He little thought, he said, to live to see the day when the great party of political emancipation would develop into a mere coterie of persecutors. It used to be said that Liberalism was trust of the people qualified by prudence, and that Toryism was mistrust tempered by fear. He asked the audience to say how that description applied now.

SUFFRAGISTS IN THE CHURCHES

On Sunday last prayers for Suffragists were offered in many churches all over the country by members of the congregations. At the Brighton Parish Church a body of Suffragists chanted the prayer: "Oh, God, save Rachel Peace and all those who are being persecuted for conscience sake." Then they left the building in a body. The service was being attended by the Mayor and Corporation, as was also that in St. Peter's Parish Church, Liverpool, where intercession was also offered. Other churches at which suffrage prayers were said were Llandaff Cathedral, St. Matthew's, Bayswater, Whitefield's Tabernacle, and at churches in Scarborough.

TWO PUBLIC MEETINGS

Two public meetings are to be held in the near future against the practice of forcible feeding in our prisons. The first, as announced in last week's *Votes for Women*, will be in the nature of a Public Enquiry, held in the Kingsway Hall next Tuesday at 8 p.m., under the auspices of the Repeal the Act Committee, when political prisoners who have been forcibly fed will give evidence on oath, and among the speakers will be Mr. Israel Zangwill, Miss Abadam, and the Rev. Ivory Cripps. Dr. Flora Murray will take the Chair.

The London Clergy's Protest

The second meeting will be held in the Queen's Hall on December 5 at 8 p.m., and will be organised by an executive committee of London clergy, of whom the Bishop of Kensington is Chairman. The clergy have been circularised to support

the protest, and a copy of the doctors' report on forcible feeding has been sent to each one of them. The Bishop will preside, and there will be six or eight short speeches. Among the speakers will be Archdeacon Escott, Canon Peter Green, and Canon Hamay ("George A. Birmingham.")

PROTESTS IN THE PRESS

THE UNEASY RADICAL

The treatment of the militant section of suffragettes has caused a feeling of great uneasiness in the ranks of the Radical Party. It is true that Mr. Lloyd George, in reply to a deputation of women the other day, sought to make it appear that the women's cause had lost prestige and standing because of the activities of the militants. Mr. Lloyd George has a very convenient memory. Two years ago every section of the women's movement, outside the House of Commons as well as inside, and including the W.S.P.U., agreed upon a truce to get the Conciliation Bill passed into law. The man who destroyed it was Mr. Lloyd George, aided and abetted by his colleague, Mr. Winston Churchill, and it was only when they had succeeded in destroying the chances of the measure that militancy again broke out. Many a sturdy Radical would tolerate even this, were it not for the fact that its natural outcome is the torture of women who refuse to be either bullied or beguiled any longer.—Mr. Keir Hardie in the "Labour Leader."

IDLE CAPRICE—NOT JUSTICE

Why was it right to feed militant Suffragettes forcibly yesterday, let them starve in prison to-day, play cat and mouse with them to-morrow, and forcibly feed them the day after? What does this strange vacillation mean? Do not our rulers know their own mind? Are they stricken of the gods that they wander to and fro so blindly? At least the common man can have no confidence in a rule which seems less a matter of justice than of idle caprice.—"The Man in the Street," in the "Daily Sketch."

THE POLITICAL OFFENDER

Dublin Girl Sent to Rescue Home

In this country women on remand for a political charge are forcibly fed in prison, as in the case of Miss Rachel Peace. In Ireland, it seems, according to a statement made by Mr. Larkin in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, last Sunday, they can be sent to a rescue home. He alleged that a girl striker who remonstrated with a blackleg was arrested for intimidation, and, on saying she could bring witnesses in her defence, was remanded for a week to "Hyde Park," described by the speaker as an "industrial home for fallen girls."

We have no further particulars to hand as yet; but failing these, Mr. Larkin's statement as it stands is one of the worst indictments that could well be brought even against a Government who in their treatment of women political offenders have already shown themselves lost to all sense of shame.

THE PEOPLE'S FOOD AND HOW IT IS POISONED

The Week's Adulteration

Not a week goes by without cases being brought into the Courts of milk or food adulteration, cases which are treated with a leniency which shows how light a view is taken of an offence which may, and very often does, lead to serious consequences, especially in the case of infants and young children. We remind our readers that the Sale of Food and Drugs Act (1899), under which these prosecutions are undertaken, only provides for imprisonment up to a maximum of three months, and this only in default of payment of a fine, which means that for an offence which gravely affects the health and well-being of the nation, purveyors of food may adulterate what they sell again and again for no worse penalty than a small sum of money. The Pure Food Bill, which was blocked last session after its first reading, though more stringent in some respects, does not provide for imprisonment without the option of a fine. Could a better instance be found of the kind of legislation which is not backed by the woman's vote?

For Poison in Milk

At Doncaster last Monday week (see *Sheffield Weekly News*, November 15), a milk dealer was fined the paltry sum of 20s. for selling milk which contained 0.016 of crystallised benzoic acid. The milk fat was found to be above the average in the sample analysed; but of what advantage is this in milk which contains an injurious preservative? It is no better to be poisoned by cream than by skim milk.

At the Marylebone Police Court last Friday (see *Times* and *Morning Post*, November 15), a milk dealer appeared before Mr. Paul Taylor, summoned under the Milk and Cream Regulations (1912) for selling milk to which benzoic acid had been added as a preservative. This was said to be the first prosecution for adding benzoic acid to milk. Really, we are creeping up!

The analysis showed that eight-tenths of a grain had been added to a pint of milk. That its presence is considered serious was shown by the fact that the Local Government Board had recently sent a circular to the Metropolitan medical officers, warning them against the presence of this acid in milk.

Mr. Paul Taylor said there was not a shadow of evidence for the defendant's assertion that the acid had been put into his milk by an enemy, and fined him £10 and £1 17s. 6d. costs.

What are our Prisons For?

Ten pounds is a better sort of a fine for a serious offence than 20s. But what are our prisons for if a well-to-do tradesman can evade them by paying a few pounds as a penalty for having circulated milk containing an injurious acid?

Compare such a mild penalty as the above with, for instance, the eight months' imprisonment given last January to Miss Louisa Gay for slightly damaging the envelopes of six letters in a pillar-box, as a protest against the votelessness of women, which makes it possible for such questions as the poisoning of the people's food to be neglected and passed over!

THE HASTINGS POGROM

Suffragists Win Important Action Against Hastings Corporation

An important victory was gained by the Hastings Suffragists last Monday, when Judge Mackarness gave judgment in their favour at the Hastings County Court.

It will be remembered that the action (of which we gave a full report in our issue of November 7) was brought by three members of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies against the Hastings Corporation, and they claimed, under the Riot Damages Act, 1886, £12 5s. 6d. paid by them to the landlord of Green's Hotel, at Hastings, in which they were compelled to take refuge from a mob on the night of May 20. They signed an agreement as follows:—

"We, the undersigned, agree to make good all damage at the above address (Green's Railway Hotel) on the occasion of our taking shelter from the crowd on May 20, 1913, in consideration for our protection."

The Judgment

His Honour said, in his judgment, the defendants raised two defences—(1) that there was no riotous and tumultuous assembly within the meaning of the Act, and (2) that there was no consideration for the payment to the landlord, inasmuch as it was a duty cast upon him by the common law to provide them with accommodation if they were willing to pay for it. The last defence was founded on a misconception of the legal duty of an innkeeper, which was to afford to travellers, who were willing to pay, board and lodging, unless there were reasonable grounds for refusing it. As to the more substantial defence, the Act provided that "where a house, shop, or building in any public district has been injured or destroyed . . . by any persons riotously and tumultuously assembled together, such compensation as hereinafter mentioned shall be paid out of the police rate of such district to any person who has sustained loss by such injury or destruction," and there was a further provision covering those who, like the plaintiffs, had recouped the actual loss for what he had lost. It was contended for the defendants upon the authority of the case of *Field v. Metropolitan Police* ([1907] 2 K.B., 853), that the action of the mob must be shown to constitute a riot. That was undoubtedly the law. The same case defined what a riot was. There must be an assemblage of not fewer than three persons, actuated by a common unlawful purpose,

which they must proceed to execute by force, used, or intended to be used, with such violence against any opposition which might meet them as to alarm a person of resolution and courage. It was argued that these conditions did not apply to the mob at whose hands the plaintiffs suffered.

Police Arrangements Not Adequate

His Honour then reviewed the facts, and said that the police arrangements were not adequate. It was known to the police that there was "a deep feeling of resentment throughout the borough" at the supposed crime of the "militants." They were warned by messages and anonymous letters that people were coming from all parts of the town to express their feelings of hostility at the meeting which was expected to be held. Yet there were only four men in plain clothes, and two somewhere about in uniform, at the hour when the meeting was to have assembled. In those circumstances he had no doubt that the plaintiffs suffered the loss they alleged by a riotous and tumultuous mob within the meaning of the Act, and were entitled to recover the compensation that they claimed.

Costs on the Higher Scale

Therefore he gave judgment in the plaintiffs' favour, and certified for costs on the higher scale, on the ground, not only that the matter was of public interest, but that—in the words of the County Courts Act, 1888—"the question litigated is of importance to that body of persons" who were concerned either for or against the movement for the enfranchisement of women.

There were cheers in Court and shouts of "Votes for Women!" when judgment was delivered.

His Honour granted leave of appeal.

THE GOVERNMENT HARLEQUINADE

It is announced that the Poplar Borough Council has refused to let the Bow Baths in future to the East End W.S.P.U., owing, says the *Pall Mall Gazette*, ingeniously, "to the disturbances which have recently arisen out of the Suffragette proceedings there."

It is quite simple, really. When you are a Government, and a certain section of people make themselves a nuisance by expecting you to act up to your principles, all you have to do is to tell your hired bullies, the police, to go and break up a few meetings, and terrorise the owners of halls, and then the owners of the halls tell the people who have been broken up that they mustn't have the halls any more, because they make disturbances there.

It is always done like that in harlequines.

GLASGOW CORPORATION URGED TO TAKE ACTION

Important Deputation from Northern Men's Federation

On Wednesday in last week, a deputation from the Glasgow centre of the Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage waited upon the Glasgow Corporation with the object of urging that body to petition Parliament to put an end to militancy by granting the suffrage to women.

BAILIE ALSTON'S OPENING SPEECH

Gentlemen, I have pleasure in introducing a deputation from the Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage, which is non-militant and non-party. We are here to-day to urge you to take some action in relation to the matter of Women's Suffrage. This Council has always been sympathetic to that demand of the women, and to-day we are going to ask you not only to hear this deputation, but we are going to ask something further: that you petition Parliament in favour of that reform, because we believe that immediately the Government indicates its desire to deal with the question, the question of militancy will cease. ("Question!")

MR. A. M. SERVICE

Mr. Service, Hon. Secretary of the Glasgow centre of the N.M.F., was the next speaker, and said:—

My Lord Provost and Councillors of the City of Glasgow, we have branches in Edinburgh and Berwick, and are at present organising branches in Aberdeen and Dundee. We have several branches already organised in the North of England. In Morpeth, three weeks ago, the Town Council there received a deputation in favour of Women's Suffrage. The result of that deputation was that the Mayor, the ex-Mayor and eight Councillors promptly joined the Northern Men's Federation. (Hear, hear.)

Now I don't expect the Glasgow Town Council to follow Morpeth in that respect; my point is not that. But from the fact that the Glasgow Town Council holds the unique and proud position of being unequalled in regard to the management of Municipal affairs, we feel that a resolution from the Glasgow Town Council asking the Government to bring in a measure in favour of Women's Suffrage in this present Government would not only have considerable weight with the Government, but also with the citizens of this, the second city of the Empire.

"We are Prepared to Use our Power"

Our Federation is composed of members who have votes, and we are prepared to use our power against any leader that refuses to put the Suffrage question prominently in the front of his policy.

Our Federation, as Bailie Alston says, is non-militant, and we are convinced that

the moment a Suffrage Bill is introduced in the House of Commons there and then militancy will cease, because we believe, and we know for a fact, that the methods used by those militants are very much more objectionable and distasteful to the women themselves than to those Ministers against whom they are directed.

"No Quarter!"

Our Federation is gaining strength every day, and we are determined to wield our power by every constitutional means in every constituency in Glasgow and district to obtain the Suffrage for women. We don't give any. Our motto is, "Fight to a finish" to overcome every obstacle that stands in the way of the righteous cause of justice to our women.

MR. FERGUSON

Mr. Ferguson then spoke, saying:—

I should like to draw attention to the fact that the Men's Federation, originated in its present ritual and carried on by Mrs. Arncliffe-Sennett, is one of such eminent sanity that it has secured the sympathy and active support of men of all shades of political opinion, and pretty well of all classes of society, from the highest downwards. That is the only remark, my Lord Provost, which I wish to make with reference to the Movement, except very sincerely to thank you for the great courtesy you have shown in receiving this deputation.

THE LORD PROVOST'S REPLY

I have no doubt that what you have said to-day will get the weight it deserves from the members of this Corporation. You are perhaps not aware that the Corporation was, I think, the first to move in favour of Women's Suffrage, and carried the resolution unanimously, if I mistake not—in August, 1910. The corporation sent a delegate to London to a Conference on the subject. We hope that you know these things.

A member of the deputation:—

We are aware of that fact, my Lord Provost.

"A Non-Militant Body of Militants"

The Lord Provost:—

From your knowledge of that you will be able to judge what our attitude will be, then, to your non-militant body of very militant speakers. (Laughter.)

Chances of Success

The success of the resolution seemed practically certain when we went to press on Wednesday. It was to be brought up in the Glasgow Council on Thursday, and there was every probability that it would be passed unanimously.

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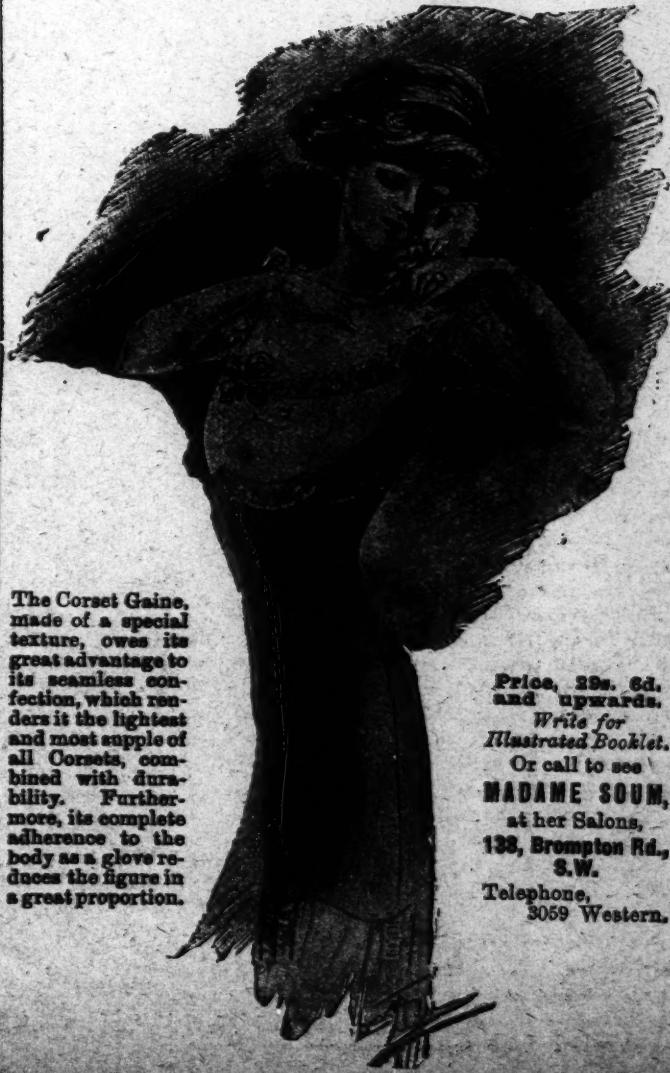
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PROTEST BY THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

Four Arrests for Demanding Equal Treatment for James Larkin and Suffragists

Last Sunday evening the Women's Freedom League held a crowded meeting in the Caxton Hall, at which they passed the following resolution:

"That in view of the action of the Government in setting free Mr. James Larkin, described by the Attorney-General for Ireland, on behalf of the Government, as 'a wicked and dangerous criminal,' and released by the Chief Secretary for Ireland, on behalf of the Government, as 'an act of justice,' this meeting of the Women's Freedom League views, with the utmost indignation, the retention in prison under the provisions of the Prisoners' (Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health) Act, of a number of persons, men and women, on charges in connection with the Suffrage movement.

"This meeting protests most warmly against the unjust and arbitrary distinctions made by the Government in its treatment of agitations by women without votes and the agitations of men already in possession of votes. It demands that the same act of justice exercised on behalf of Mr. Larkin shall be exercised on behalf of imprisoned Suffragettes and those released on license. It demands the immediate and unconditional release of all such persons, and it further demands that in the future they shall receive the same treatment as that granted the Right Hon. Sir Starr Jameson, Mr. Devin, M.P., Mr. James Larkin, and other political prisoners, and be placed in the first division."

To No. 10, Downing Street

Four delegates from the meeting, Miss Nina Boyle, Miss Gertrude Eaton, Miss Murray, and Mrs. Jason Kerr, then drove in a taxi-cab to No. 10, Downing Street, where they delivered the resolution to the man who opened the Prime Minister's door. Meanwhile, the rest of the meeting had assembled in St. James's Park, and Miss Murray now proceeded to address them from the steps leading down into the Horseguard's Parade from Downing Street. She was asked to desist by the two constables on duty, and naturally refusing, was taken into custody amid cries of "Shame!" from below.

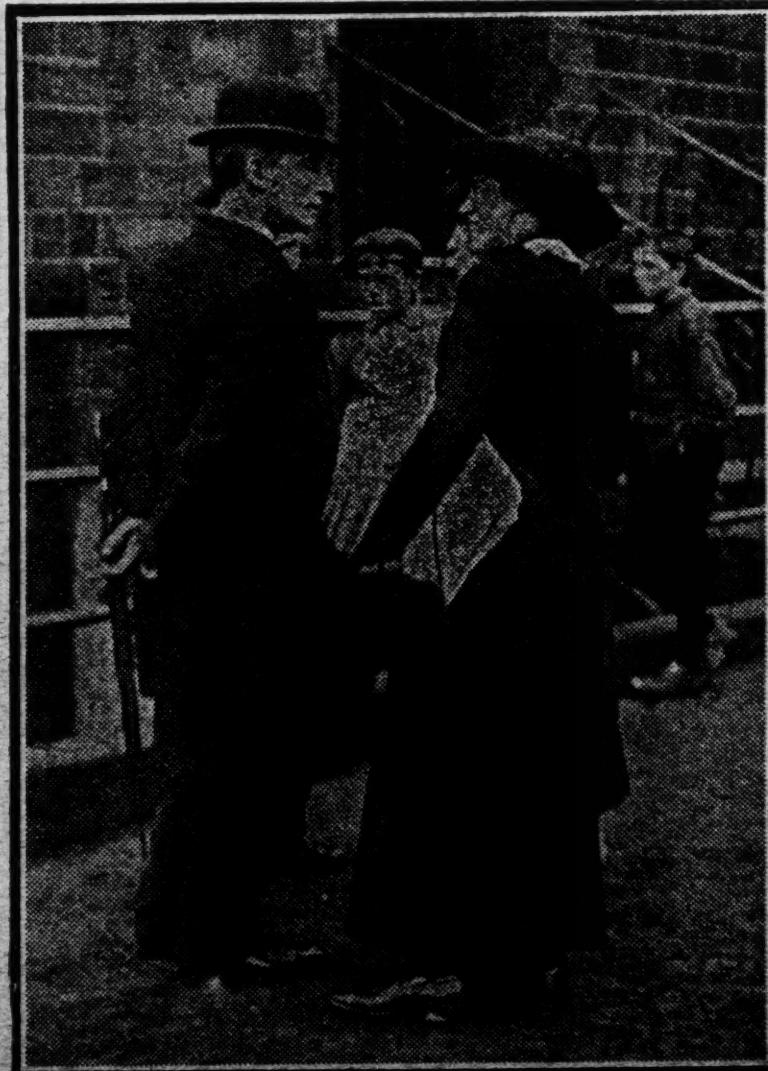
This having temporarily disposed of the available police force, the other three speakers had it all their own way for about half an hour, after which sufficient police reinforcements arrived to break up the meeting, and so caused the obstruction for which they promptly arrested the speakers.

The four victims of this Gilbertian method of police rule were brought up at Bow Street on Monday morning. (See In the Courts, page 118).

MIDLAND WOMEN LIBERALS DEMAND A GOVERNMENT MEASURE

At the Conference of the Midland Union of Women's Liberal Associations, held at Birmingham on October 14, at which some 250 delegates were present, the following resolution was passed with only fourteen dissentients:

"That this Conference calls upon the Government to bring in a Government measure for Women's Suffrage at the earliest possible moment."



A "VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOW SELLING THE PAPER TO SIR STANLEY BUCKMASTER, AT KEIGHLEY.

CONSERVATIVES AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

It was unfortunate that, as the *Manchester Guardian* remarks, woman suffrage was the proposal in hand at the annual conference of the National Union of Conservative Associations last Friday, "when the guillotine fell, destroying the one promise of real debate which the Conference had offered." The result was there was no discussion, and the show of hands revealed a majority against Lord Robert Cecil's motion.

The Motion

Lord Robert Cecil proposed the following motion:

"That it is expedient to extend the franchise to all citizens, regardless of sex, who have the qualification at present required in men for the exercise of the suffrage."

He asked the Unionist party to deal honestly and frankly with the question. Now that the Conciliation Bill had been lost Conservatives resumed their liberty of action and were entitled to present a solution which would be the most favourable to the Conservative cause. It had always been part of Conservative principles since the days of the great William Pitt that citizens who were possessed of the property qualifications necessary for a vote should be allowed to exercise the franchise. (Hear, hear.) It was a profound mistake, and very damaging in the eyes of the democracy, to represent Conservatives as always opposed to any extension of the franchise. They were not afraid of qualified persons exercising the vote.

Militancy

The commonest objection heard to the enfranchisement of women was founded on militancy. Militancy was entirely in the interests of those who opposed women's suffrage, and if he were a suspicious person he would be disposed to think it had been subsidised by the anti-suffragists. Of course, that was not so. It was a little unjust to make the law-abiding suffragists suffer because of the eccentricities and the lawless acts of a very small number of others who were fanatics on this subject.

Lord Willoughby de Broke

Lord Robert Cecil having dealt with other objections to woman suffrage, Lord Willoughby de Broke seconded the resolution, and said he believed that some members of his party had irrevocably made up their minds against women's suffrage. (Hear, hear, and "Shame on them.") "I have nothing but respect for them," Lord Willoughby commented. "That is the true 'die hard' point of view." (Laughter.)

Closure

At this point the closure was applied under the standing orders.

Without further discussion an amendment moved by Mr. Arnold Ward, M.P., expressing the opinion that such a great constitutional change should not be made until it had received the express sanction of the electorate was put to the conference and carried by a majority.

The amendment was then put as the substantive resolution, and declared adopted.

Chapter 14

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CORRESPONDENCE

SUFFRAGE FIRST!

North Islington Liberals

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Will you allow me to call attention to the fact that the Liberal Association have just adopted Mr. Leonard W. J. Costello as their prospective candidate, and that he has expressed his strong opposition to Votes for Women, and does not wish to make any further public reference to the question?

The meeting at which he was adopted was far from unanimous, and some steps should be taken to oppose this candidate, who so little understands the principles of democracy and representative Government. Women who have so bravely fought their cause, almost without the aid of men, for so many years, may now appeal with assurance for the support which has hitherto been withheld, and many thousands of the electors will go prepared to place this question in the forefront.

I believe it will be found that the Borough of Islington is favourable ground.

—Yours, &c., FREDK. W. FLEAR.

102, Shaftesbury Road, Crouch Hill, N.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I was very pleased to see in your valuable paper the letter from "Instruisto" advocating the refusal by women to do any public or philanthropic work except work for Suffrage.

I have for a long time followed this course, and I believe many other Suffragists do the same; but it is never warmly advocated in Suffrage papers. Even "Instruisto" is somewhat dubious as to its good effects, but it seems to me that its efficacy cannot be denied. It is perfectly lawful, so all can follow it, and as society so largely depends upon such voluntary work, its withdrawal cannot fail to show the community how much it suffers by the delay in dealing with this question of Woman Suffrage.

Nor can the Anti-Suffragist object to it, for if "Woman's place is the home" she should surely keep aloof from care committees, &c., as they certainly necessitate absence from the home.—Yours, &c., LOGICUS.

FROM "VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWS
Throwing a Girdle Round the Earth

The VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship is fast throwing a girdle round about the earth. One Fellow writes from Manly, New South Wales: "I have your publication sent weekly from my parents in South Shields."

From India

Another Fellow sends a donation from Lansdowne, U.P., India, with an accompanying letter in which she says: "This sum is the proceeds of classes held by my sister and me in physical culture. We can do so little personally out here that it is a relief to be able to send some funds home to the finest cause in the world. VOTES FOR WOMEN is read by us with the greatest interest every week, and is one of our biggest links with home."

A London Fellow, enclosing a membership card from a friend, says: "We shall

do our Christmas shopping at the firms of votes for women sympathisers."

Even on Board Ship

A Fellow who is on her travels writes from the T.S.S. Marathon, near Durban: "I wonder if I may in a postscript send my great admiration and gratitude for the wonderful paper? We have secured a sale for it at every place we have visited in Australia."

In Wisconsin

A few weeks ago twenty-one men and women in Wisconsin asked to be enrolled in the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship. This week twelve more names have been received, including those of the Mayor and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. John R. Mathews.

In Western Australia

In Western Australia, where those two indefatigable Suffragists and Fellows, Miss Hedge and Miss Newcomb, have been spreading the movement far and wide, the Fellowship has gained ground in more than one direction. Many people in Perth, W.A., for instance, have become regular readers of the paper, and the Labour Secretary is putting one in the Club. Among the Fellowship contributions acknowledged this week will be found one of 10s. from the farmers of Armadale, W.A.; and Miss Hedge tells us in a letter how one of them ran after her buggy and arrived breathless at the station, putting the money into her hands with the words, "Here's a little contribution to the woman's cause in the old land, and good luck to them!"

Another sum of £1 3s., also acknowledged in to-day's list of contributions, was collected at a meeting held in Fremantle, from Labour men and women.

Miss Vida Goldstein, a splendid advocate in Australia of the English women's struggle for enfranchisement, writes to us:

"I must congratulate you on the splendid development of VOTES FOR WOMEN."

First Open Air Meeting in Johannesburg

A Fellow, newly registered, sends us the welcome news that the first open-air Suffrage meeting ever held in Johannesburg took place there on October 15. Three of the town Suffragists took their courage and their banner in both hands and marched down to the Market Square, where they held a most successful meeting, the audience consisting mainly of men. Three days later another was held, a resolution calling for the extension of the franchise to women on equal terms with men being passed with only two dissentients. As an outcome of these two meetings, an open-air campaign has since been organised by the Women's Enfranchisement League.

Deputation to General Botha

Our correspondent tells us further that a deputation from the League went to Pretoria on October 27, to interview General Botha, who received them most sympathetically at the Government Buildings.

It is only Britain's Prime Minister who leaves women standing on the doorstep.

(An account of Miss Newcomb's encounter with Mr. Will Crooks, M.P., will be found on page 109.)

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

For Nearly Murdering a Wife

The *Daily Citizen* (November 10) reports case of a miner charged before the Newcastle magistrates with committing an aggravated assault on his wife. Suspecting her fidelity (apparently groundlessly), he attacked her with a red-hot poker. She was found half-dazed, with burns on her arms, her nose bleeding, and both eyes blackened.

Sentence: Three months' imprisonment.

For Assault

The *Sheffield Weekly News* (November 8) reports case of a man charged before Mr. J. R. Wheatley and Alderman Hargreaves at Sheffield Police Court with striking his landlady on the shoulder with an iron bar or poker.

Sentence: Fourteen days' imprisonment.

Assault on a Child

The *Surrey Comet* (November 15) reports case of a man charged before the County Bench at Kingston-on-Thames with indecently assaulting a child of seven. Defendant consented to plead guilty to a charge of common assault, at the suggestion of the Bench.

Sentence: One month's imprisonment.

THE PROBLEM

A Working Woman's Point of View
To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—If the subject were not so piteous and so pathetic, the National inquiry into the declining birthrate would be most humorous.

It has started at the Mansion House with a Committee composed of leading doctors, ministers, biologists, sociologists, and social workers. A few Dukes, Duchesses, and a bachelor Bishop with some thousands a year, will arrive in due course.

Well, thank God that it is declining! Thank God that at last parents are refusing to be responsible for children that they cannot properly feed and clothe. There is no need to have a National inquiry into this subject; this is "What every woman knows," and knowledge is power.

It is heart-breaking enough for us to have one, two, or even three half-starved little ones always before our eyes without being blamed for not making it a dozen. Every night through the coming winter there will be thousands of dear little frozen toes, drawn up to poor little empty stomachs, in blanketless beds. At stated times there will also be a committee which will arrive in motor-cars, sitting warmly clad in a comfortable room, seriously inquiring the reason why there are not more of these unfortunate victims. Oh, God, the irony, the stupidity, the brutality of it all! Where are we to put them when they do arrive? At a time when we want more room for the children we have to do with less. To feed them we take a lodger. And when we take a lodger we are asking for trouble and generally get it. If we take lodgers, or washing, or go out to work, our homes and families suffer, and "the soft answer that turns away wrath" does not come readily under these conditions, and the public house round the corner frequently reaps the benefit. Is it to be wondered at? There is no one more devoted to their children than the poor. Light of our lives they really are, for it's very little other light that penetrates into some of our dark homes, and the declining birth-rate is a practical and sensible proof of our love.

Never shall I forget the sad reproachful look in the eyes of a little boy who said, on being shown his new sister: "Oh, mother, why didn't you have my boots mended instead of buying that?"—Yours, &c.,

A. J. D.
Gorleston.

WHAT NEXT

Another Insult to the Voteless Mother

If anything were needed to bring home to women the perpetual disadvantage under which they labour through lack of political power, it would be the creation of a new department and a new official at the Home Office to deal solely with matters relating to children. Mr. G. A. Aitken, M.V.O., may be the right person for the post to which he has been appointed; the fact that he has been a Principal Clerk in the Home Office since he was transferred there from the Post Office ten years ago may qualify him, as the *Times* seems to imply, for his new position, though nothing in the administration of the Home Office in recent years leads us to endorse this sanguine opinion.

That is not, however, the point. As we said in this paper when we summarised the Report of the Committee on Industrial

HEAVY SENTENCES

For Burglary

The *Times* (November 13) reports case of an automobile engineer and a printer, charged before the Recorder at the Central Criminal Court with entering a house at Wimbledon and stealing £15 worth of silver. There were previous convictions.

Sentence: The engineer to three years' penal servitude, and the printer to twelve months' hard labour.

For Attempted Theft

At the same time, the same man was charged also with attempting to steal 2s. 6d. from a till in a shop. He did not succeed in this as he did in the case of the assault.

Sentence: Three months' imprisonment.

Assault and Robbery of a Man

The *Glasgow Herald* (November 14) reports case of a man who at a pleading diet of the Glasgow Criminal Court admitted assaulting and robbing a man in Osborne Street, Glasgow.

Sentence: Six months' imprisonment.

Schools, which has led to the formation of the new department, there is a grave danger to women in any official innovations of the kind, so long as they have no voice in the control of the Government who are responsible for all official departments.

Further, if woman's place is the home, still more is it the Home Office, if the children of the State are to be under its control. To deny women the vote, and to appoint a man, responsible only to men, to control the destinies of their children, is to add a serious insult to a very bitter injury.

THE BOOKBINDERS' STRIKE

Driving Women out of the Trade

The bookbinders' strike in Edinburgh, like the printers' strike of two or three years' ago, appears to be an attempt to exclude women from a trade for which they are eminently fitted, and in which they are fairly well paid—an attempt that is never made, by the way, in occupations that are not well paid and that entail drudgery and underpayment.

The strike affects two Aberdeen firms as well as the trade in Edinburgh and Glasgow, the smaller strike being due to the ordering of a national stoppage.

An Edinburgh correspondent writes:

"The girls' work has always been satisfactory to the employers. Some of it is very simple—the guiding of 'ruling' machines, and so on. On the other hand, the more delicate work is really done better by girls than men, because their fingers are smaller and dexterous. A girl could make 16s. to £1 a week, or more."

The Men's Attitude

"The men's attitude is that no work shall be done by a woman that a man can do. They do not say that the present girls are to be ousted, but that no more are to be taken on."

"The employers are at present standing firm, and the strike may not succeed. The agitation had been 'worked' much the same as in the printing strike, but with even less reason, as apparently the work is well suited to female labour, and was well done by the girls, not being heavy, and being comparatively well paid."

THE DOUBLE STANDARD

By Upton Sinclair

Once upon a time a Man married a Woman.

Time passed and one day the Man said: "I love all women. I need a great deal of love."

And the Woman replied: "I love all men. I also need a great deal of love."

Said the Man: "If you talk like that I will hit you over the head with a club."

And the Woman said: "Forgive me, Lord and Master."

Ten thousand years passed and again the Man said: "I love all women. I need a great deal of love."

And the Woman replied: "I love all men. I also need a great deal of love."

Said the Man: "If you talk like that I will divorce you, and you will find it hard to earn your own living."

And the Woman said: "You are a brute."

Another hundred years passed, and again the Man said: "I love all women. I need a great deal of love."

And the Woman replied: "I love all men. I also need a great deal of love. And, as you know, I can earn my own living."

Said the Man: "If you talk like that I shall have to behave myself."

And the Woman said: "At last."

Cotton's Weekly.

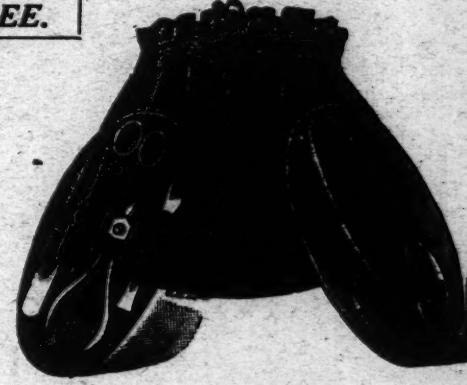
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MISS RACHEL PEACE

At the Old Bailey, before Mr. Justice Lawrence, on Saturday last, Miss Rachel Peace was found guilty of setting fire to an unoccupied house at Hampton-on-Thames, on October 4 last, and was sentenced to eighteen months' hard labour.

Miss Mary Richardson, who was indicted with Miss Peace, was too ill to appear, as she had been forcibly fed while in prison, and released on licence.

Mr. Bodkin and Mr. H. D. Roome prosecuted for the Crown. Miss Peace conducted her own defence.

The Horrible Torture of Forcible Feeding

Evidence having been given for the prosecution, Miss Peace addressed the jury in an absolutely composed manner, but in a voice so weak that it was scarcely audible. She said: "I have spent the last six weeks in prison. I was not allowed bail, although I offered to give the necessary undertaking, and so low is my vitality that I have not been able to prepare my defence. In addition to imprisonment, during the greater part of the time I have been subjected to the horrible torture of forcible feeding, and to the mental anguish and almost intolerable nervous strain this produces. I consider that in this I have been treated with the greatest injustice. I want to know why I have been so treated, and why, as a prisoner at the bar, I have been rendered unfit to prepare my defence?"

The Judge's Summing Up

At this point a scene occurred in court, which is described below. When order had been restored, the Judge summed up. He said that the only point for the jury to consider was whether the prisoner was one of those who actually set this house on fire; if so, it was their duty to find her guilty. He said: "I have tried to see what doubt there is, what I could suggest to you as a possible doubt, but I have been unable to suggest to you anything; but, of course, it is entirely for you to decide."

The jury, without leaving the box, found the defendant Guilty.

Miss Peace's Speech

Miss Peace then addressed the Judge: She said: "What I want to point out to you is that after imprisonment for six weeks I am totally unfit to prepare my defence. The whole atmosphere of the place lowers one's vitality to such an extent. (The Judge attempted to interrupt.) In addition, for the greater part of the time, I have been forcibly fed, and the mental anguish and almost intolerable nervous strain—" (The Judge here remarked that it was her own fault.) "I want to know where is the justice which allows such inhuman treatment?" (Judge: "What would you suggest should be done with untried prisoners—let them starve?") "I should have been allowed bail. I was not under the Cat and Mouse Act, and each of my previous convictions I have served. (The Judge again interrupted.) "If you question me continually I cannot tell you what I have to say. Will you listen to what I have got to say, or will you not?" (The Judge assented.)

Why This Injustice?

"I want to know," continued Miss Peace, "why I have been subjected to this injustice. At my previous trials I have always been allowed bail. I am not, and never have been, a prisoner released on licence." She then proceeded to say that when the Cat and Mouse Act was passed in the House of Commons, the Home Secretary reserved for himself the right to resort to forcible feeding in exceptional cases. She was not an exceptional case, and so she asked why forcible feeding had been adopted. "I am disgusted at it," she declared. "Neither the law nor any power on earth can compel me to serve any long imprisonment. If I am sentenced I shall resume the hunger-strike. If I am forcibly fed, very soon it may cause my death, or, what is worse, may drive me mad. Surrender I never shall to the law as it now stands. I consider it my highest duty in life to work in this cause, to give all my time, my efforts, and my life, if need be. I feel perfectly justified in pleading not guilty."

Sentenced

The Judge, in passing sentence of eighteen months' imprisonment, with hard labour, said he was sorry to have to do so, as he saw the prisoner was "wrong headed," which was rather a startling statement in view of Miss Peace's absolutely calm and collected manner, although she was obviously suffering from extreme weakness.

PROTEST AT THE OLD BAILEY

Four Arrests

At the Old Bailey, during the trial of Miss Rachel Peace on Saturday last, a protest was made by Suffragists in Court,

which resulted in four arrests. While Miss Peace was addressing the jury, the Judge said he was unable to hear, her voice was so weak, and finally she resumed her seat, and reserved her speech for the moment when she should address the Judge himself.

"She is not fit to be tried," exclaimed a woman from the back of the Court, where sat some forty Suffragists. At that moment there was a crash of breaking glass, and immediately there was uproar, everyone trying to ascertain what had happened, while police officers rushed to the rear of the court. A hammer had been flung through the glass surrounding the well of the court. Three women were then hurried out by the police. When order was restored, the Judge remarked that if any further disturbance occurred the court would have to be cleared. One of the jury then rose and asked apprehensively whether it would not be well to search the women before admitting them, adding, "We are none of us safe." The Judge then ordered the court to be cleared, and the women commenced to file out, but as they did so tomatoes were thrown, one of which struck the Clerk of the Court and Mr. Bodkin, and the glass panes of the court door were broken by a hammer, the woman who used it being immediately arrested.

FLOUR THROWN OVER MR. REDMOND

As Mr. John Redmond, M.P., and his wife were travelling to Newcastle last Friday, their reserved compartment on the train was entered by a suffragist. It is reported that she declared herself to be an Irishwoman, and taxed the Nationalist leader with his attitude to Woman's Suffrage, and that she threw two small bags of flour over Mr. and Mrs. Redmond. It is further said that she tried to throw their umbrellas out of the window, but that a dining-car attendant rushed in and seized her. She was given into the custody of the police at Newcastle, but it is understood Mr. Redmond does not intend to take further proceedings.

A "NO RENT" STRIKE FOR THE WOMAN'S VOTE

The East End Federation of the W.S.P.U. has decided to organise a "No Rent" Strike for the woman's vote. The strike will not begin until it has been sufficiently well organised to ensure its effectiveness. It is anticipated that in Bow and Bromley alone there will be between three and four thousand people refusing to pay rent, all massed together, so as to make eviction impossible, and backed by a "People's Army," now growing fast, we are informed, and consisting roughly of one-third women and two-thirds men.

Miserable Tenements

It is alleged that the "No Rent" weapon is one peculiarly adapted to the use of women in the East End, where for generations they have been exploited and made to pay high rents for miserable tenements. A case is given of a tenement at Bethnal Green, where people are paying 4s. 6d. for a single room, and 6s. 6d. for two front rooms, the sanitary arrangements being shocking, and no repairs having been done for a generation. A woman lives here, in two back rooms, at 5s. 6d., with her husband (earning £1 a week) and eight sons, the youngest a baby in arms. It will not be difficult, it is assumed, to induce such tenants to refuse to pay rent for a cause that aims at making these things better; and the protest, persisted in, should bring powerful pressure to bear upon the landlords, and so upon the Government.

WHEN WILL THEY STOP SHRINKING?

The unconscious humour of the Liberal Press has been rather more marked than usual in its outpourings over the justice of Mr. Larkin's release. (Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, by the way, has been re-arrested four times without a protest from any Liberal newspaper, and on exactly the same charge as Mr. Larkin, though with this difference, that she is an unconvicted prisoner and he was sentenced by a judge and jury.) The *Daily Chronicle* was especially gushing in its leading article which appeared just before Mr. Larkin was released.

"Men," says this Liberal stalwart, "are sometimes so afraid of having their actions misconstrued that they shrink from taking the right course. We are sure that Mr. Asquith and his colleagues will not be guilty of such moral cowardice."

We are glad that someone is sure. No one in the Suffrage movement is anything of the kind. To Suffragists the question is: When will Mr. Asquith and his colleagues stop shrinking from taking the right course?

IN THE COURTS

Saturday, November 15.—At the Old Bailey, before Mr. Justice Lawrence charged with firing a house, Miss Rachel Peace, sentenced to eighteen months' hard labour. Miss Mary Richardson too ill to appear.

Monday, November 17.—At the Guildhall, before Alderman Sir W. Dunn, charged with assault on the Clerk of the Court at the Old Bailey, by throwing a tomato at him, Miss Kathleen Ward, discharged. Charged with assaulting a warden by throwing a hammer which hit him, Miss Catherine Jones, two months' hard labour. Charged with breaking glass at the Old Bailey, Miss Aldham and Miss Seaton, each sentenced to one month's hard labour.

At the Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Hopkins, charged with obstruction, Miss Nina Boyle, Miss Murray, Mrs. Jason Kerr, and Miss Boileau. The two former remanded for a week (bail allowed), the two latter ordered to be bound over, which they refused. They were released after the Court rose.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed in the Press to Suffragists during the past week:

Thursday, November 13.—Ink and chemicals found in pillar-boxes at Bristol.

Friday, November 14.—Bomb reported to have been found in the Palm House, Sefton Park, Liverpool; also post-cards bearing Suffrage messages.

Sunday, November 16.—Unoccupied house in Sandon Park, Liverpool, set on fire, considerable damage; Suffrage literature found.

WHEN FATHER GREW SILENT

Mr. Jones, whose great, great grandfather had figured in the Boston Tea Party, was fond of recounting the story of that night to his small son, Bob.

"Father," said Bob, one day, "wasn't it wrong of those men to throw over tea that didn't belong to them?"

"No, my son, they were fighting for a principle, for a share in their own Government."

There was a pause, in which Bob looked thoughtful, then—

"Father?"

"Well?"

"Do the suffragettes have a share in the government?"

"No, not exactly—"

"Then isn't it right for them to burn up mail-boxes and things?"

"Son, that's enough for to-night. I want to read my paper."—Life.

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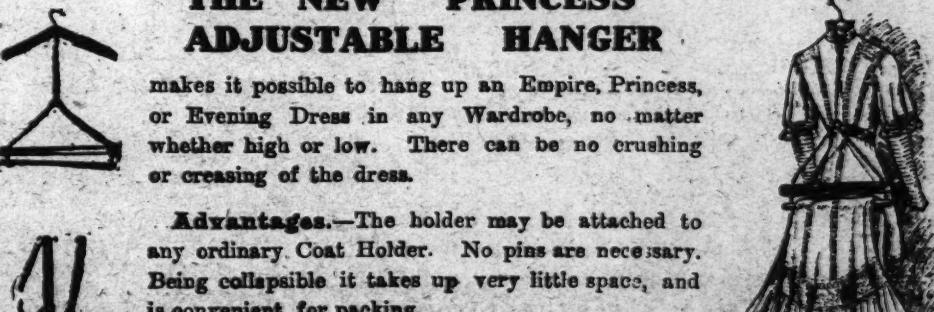
THE NEW "PRINCESS" ADJUSTABLE HANGER

makes it possible to hang up an Empire, Princess, or Evening Dress in any Wardrobe, no matter whether high or low. There can be no crushing or creasing of the dress.

Advantages.—The holder may be attached to any ordinary Coat Holder. No pins are necessary. Being collapsible it takes up very little space, and is convenient for packing.

It is made of highly polished wood with nickelated chains and hooks, and costs 2s. 11d., post free, of

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NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

3, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge
President: Mrs. Cecil Chapman

The rapid growth of the N.C.S. should be the pride of every member. Not only in London is the society known for its broad and statesman-like policy; magnificent spadework is carried on in the provinces, and meetings have been held in remote parts of the country. By-elections or not, the N.C.S. never ceases its efforts to undermine the existence of our anti-justice Government. And here we appeal to every member to do her individual part, especially in getting others to join our ranks. Every suffragist should be a recruiting sergeant for her particular society!

Tuesday "At Home." — In a well reasoned address Miss E. S. Roper showed that the movement had steadily advanced, notwithstanding the disgraceful tactics of the Government.

Mrs. Cecil Chapman spoke inspiring on the economic subjection of women, which she contended was at the root of the whole question.

CHRISTMAS BAZAAR. — Less than a fortnight remains in which to make strenuous efforts to make this the splendid success which it is going to be. If any member has not yet done her part she can save her character by immediately giving something to the particular stall which may have claims upon her; or, in lieu of that, sending a donation to the honorary treasurer. What everybody must do is to bring friends to the bazaar, both in the evening and afternoon. Only the most beautiful and useful articles will be on sale. Old lace, silver, china, eastern draperies, toys, and many rare objects will be obtainable at moderate prices.

FUTURE MEETINGS AND EVENTS

Thursday, 20. — Bristol, drawing-room meeting, Mrs. Merivale Mayer. Hostess: Mrs. Green, Ewelme, Westbury Hill, Westbury-on-Trym. 3 p.m.
Friday, 21. — Concert, New Constitutional Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, 3 p.m.
Saturday, 22. — Whitechapel; 66, High Street. Mrs. Kerr, Miss McGowan, 3.30 p.m.
Sunday, 23. — Hyde Park. Mrs. Merivale Mayer, noon.
Tuesday, 25. — New Constitutional Hall, Park Mansions Arcade. "Woman, the Protected Sex," Mr. John Cameron Grant, 3 p.m.
Tuesday, 25. — Bristol, Victoria Rooms. Mrs. Kington Parkee, Mr. Laurence Housman, 8 p.m.
Thursday, 27. — Honor Oak. Drawing-room meeting, Miss Alexandra Wright, B.Sc. Hostess: Mrs. Gosling, Southwood, Canonbie Road. 3 p.m.

THE FIRST LADY PROVOST

The first Lady Provost in Scotland has been created in Mrs. Malcolm, who has been unanimously elected to that post in the town of Dollar. She was already senior member of the present Town Council, and also enjoys the distinction of having been the first woman Councillor elected in Scotland. She is reported to be a keen supporter of the Suffrage.

SUFFRAGIST CHURCHWOMEN'S PROTEST

A third instalment of signatures to the above protest has now been sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Names are being collected for a further instalment. Anyone desiring to know particulars of this protest is invited to write to the Hon. Secy., Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee, 21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

CHRISTMAS APPEALS

A Useful Postcard

At this time of year, when all kinds of charitable appeals are being sent out by post, the postcards issued by the Tax Resistance League, giving the Suffragist's answer to such appeals, are very useful. The wording on them runs as follows:—

"I regret that the heavy sacrifices I feel called upon to make for the cause of Women's Enfranchisement render it impossible for me to subscribe to the object to which you draw my attention. You will recognise that the delay in passing a Women's Enfranchisement Measure imposes a heavy tax upon the resources of all warm supporters of the movement."

JUJITSU

Seeing that Suffragists are taking steps to secure self-defence, a very busy teacher, Miss Frances Weste, has kindly offered to give a few free lessons during next month in Jujitsu to women anxious to learn it. Communications should be sent to Miss Weste at 31, Golden Square, Regent Street, W.

CHRISTMAS CARDS

The Women Writers' Suffrage League are bringing out a charming series of Christmas cards bearing the portraits of well-known women writers. One card is of Mrs. Flora Annie Steel and another of Miss Beatrice Harraden. The cards are 2d. and 3d. each, and can be obtained from the League's offices.

COMING EVENTS

There will be VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship meetings at:—

St. John's Hall, Ainsdale, on November 27, at 8 p.m. Speaker: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Chair: The Rev. G. Z. Edwards, M.A.

Hope Hall, Liverpool, on November 28, at 8 p.m. Speaker: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Chair: John Ziegler, Esq., J.P.

Philosophical Hall, Leeds, on December 12, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Cather. Chair: Walter Dodgson, Esq.

The London Society (N.U.W.S.S.) will hold a public reception at the Westminster Palace Hotel to-day (Friday), from 3.30 to 6.15. Speakers: Miss Emily Hill and Mrs. Swanwick.

The Jewish League announce a lecture by Cameron Grant, Esq., on "The Moral Aspect of Woman Suffrage," at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, on November 24 at 8.30 p.m.

At the Suffrage Club, on November 25, the M.P.U. will hold a meeting at 8.30 p.m. Speaker: H. J. Gillespie, Esq. Chair: Mrs. Roch.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence will open a debate at the Willesden Parliament, Kensal Rise Council School, on November 25 at 8.15 p.m.

The Committee for the Repeal of the "Cat and Mouse" Act will hold a meeting at the Kingsway Hall on November 25, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Mr. Zangwill, Miss Abadam, Rev. I. Cripps. Chair: Dr. Flora Murray. Tickets, 6, Avenue Mansions, Finchley Road.

There will be a debate at the International Women's Franchise Club on November 26 at 8.30 p.m. on "That while the Suffrage Movement is an excellent thing for young men, it is a thoroughly bad thing for young women."

The Women's Freedom League will hold a meeting at the Carlton Hall on November 26, at 8.30 p.m. Speaker: J. Malcolm Mitchell, Esq. The League also announces a lecture on "The Real Meaning of the White Slave Traffic," by E. B. Lloyd, Esq., at the W.F.L. Office, on December 1, at 8 p.m.

An Exhibition of Women's Work in all branches and a Sale of Arts, Crafts, and Industries, will be held at the Zoo Buildings, Glasgow, from December 1 to 13. Daily demonstrations, also cinematograph and lantern lectures, will be given in connection with the exhibits. Particulars from J. M. Freer, Esq., 30, Ludgate Hill, E.C., or Miss F. L. Fuller, 52, New Bond Street, W.

There will be a dinner in honour of the VOTES FOR WOMEN literary contributors at the Connaught Rooms on December 4 at 7.30 p.m. Chair: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

The London clergy will hold a meeting to protest against Forcible Feeding at the large Queen's Hall on December 5 at 8 o'clock. Tickets: National Political League. (See page 114).

A CORRECTION

We regret to say that owing to an error a lecture by Miss Katherine Raleigh at the Carlton Hall, under the auspices of the Women's Tax Resistance League, was announced in our last week's paper for November 18 instead of November 10.

NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

ETHICAL CHURCH, Queen's Road.—11, William Archer, "Peace with Reason"; 7, Laurence Housman, "Chivalry."

ST. MARY-AT-HILL.—Church Army Church, Eastcheap. Sundays, 9 and 6, views, orchestra, band. Prebendary Carlile.

NEW THOUGHT CHURCH.—11.15, at Steinway Hall, Lower Seymour Street. Speaker: Miss Muriel Brown. 7.15, at 78, Edgware Road.

KINGSWAY HALL, W.C. (WEST London Mission). Preacher, 11 a.m. and 7 p.m. Rev. J. E. Rattenbury. Morning subject, "The Twelve Apostles. No. 10 Philip"; Evening subject, "Is Jesus good enough for the Twentieth Century?" No. 4. "Is Jesus good enough for the Modern Woman?" 6.30, musical service; soloist, Miss Mary Bruce Brown. Organist, Mr. Frank Idle, A.R.A.M. The programme will include the "Ruy Blas" overture, Mendelssohn. 8.30, Fellowship, Rev. Joseph Hooker. Subject, "The Failure of Christianity." Soloist, Miss Phyllis Howes. Sunday, December 7th, first anniversary of the opening of Kingsway Hall.

THEATRES, CONCERTS, &c.

SAVOY THEATRE, STRAND.—Lessee and Manager, H. B. Irving. TO-NIGHT at 8.15. Matinees Weds. and Sats. at 2.30. THE GRAND SEIGNEUR. H. B. IRVING. MARIE LOHR. Box-office (Savoy Court, Strand) 10 to 10. Tel. 2602 Ger.

MEMORIAL HALL, Albert Square, Manchester.—Friday, November 28, at 7.30 p.m., Concert by Hope Squire and Frank Merrick. Unfamiliar works for two pianofortes. Tickets, 5s., 2s. 6d., 1s., at Messrs. Forsyth Bros., 128, Deansgate.

MISS EDITH H. BROWN, L.L.S.M., of M. the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship, will give a Pupils' Concert in Channing Hall, Bradford, on Wednesday, November 28, at 7.45 p.m. Suffragettes, please support.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League

2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League

25, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Woman Voters' Association

C/o International Woman's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W.

Catholie Woman's Suffrage Society

55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Woman's Suffrage

6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society

18, Sotheby Road, Highgate.

Conservative and Unionist Woman's Franchise Association

48, Dover Street, W.

Federated Council of Woman's Suffrage Societies

14, St. James' Street, S.W.

Forward Cymric Suffrage Union

53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Free Church League for Woman's Suffrage

2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.

Friends' League for Woman's Suffrage

Walden, Gloucester.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society

3, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Suffrage Shop

11, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Woman's Suffrage Alliance

7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Woman's Franchise Club

9, Grafton Street, W.

Irish League for Woman Suffrage

The Union of the Four Provinces Club, 16, John Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Irishwomen's Franchise League

Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.

Irishwoman's Reform League

29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association

163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation

23, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society

27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage

32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

League of Justice

22, South Molton Street, W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage

Chester Gate, Ealing.

Marchers' Quie Vive Corps

Dunston, Petersfield, Sussex.

LIFE IN A BOOTH (TO-DAY)

By MARK MELFORD.

The Author hopes Franchise friends will avail themselves of the Post-free plan adopted (Suffragettes only). Volumes dispatched direct, 1/- net (P.O. or 12 stamps), from (Suite 648) Waldorf Hotel (Mrs. Bradshaw), and Sedgeford Rd., Shepherd's Bush. JACKETDAWNS, Secretary.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN AND A GOOD LA

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

LONDON SOCIETY (N.U.W.S.S.).—Public Reception, Westminster Palace Hotel, November 21, 8.30-6.15. Miss Helen Ward (chair), Miss Emily Hill, Mrs. Swanwick.

JEWISH LEAGUE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.—Lecture at Memorial Hall, Farrington Street, November 24, at 8.30. Cameron Grant, Esq.; chair, Mrs. C. A. V. Conybeare. "The Moral Aspect of Woman Suffrage." Tickets, Miss Mildred Marsden, 82, Redcliffe Gardens, S.W.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds Public Meetings every Wednesday afternoon at Caxton Hall. Speaker: November 26, J. Malcolm Mitchell, Esq., subject, "The Growth of the Suffrage among Men." And others. The chair will be taken by Mrs. Tanner at 8.30.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB, 9, Grafton Street, W. Subscription, £1 1s. Wednesday, November 26, 8.30 p.m.; debate, "That while the suffrage movement is an excellent thing for young men, it is a thoroughly bad thing for young women." Proposer, Mr. Th. Gugenheim; opposer, Miss Mildred Ransom. Chairman, Mrs. Stanbury.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE. A lecture will be given by E. B. Lloyd, Esq., on "The Real Meaning of the White Slave Traffic" at the W.F.L. Office, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, Strand, W.C., on Tuesday, December 1, at 8 p.m. Admission free. Discussion invited.

LEAGUE OF JUSTICE.—Join the League and strengthen the New Militancy. Particulars of membership from Hon. Organising Secretary, 22, South Molton Street, W.

EXHIBITIONS.

EXHIBITION and SALE OF CRAFT WORK, the Queen's (Small) Hall, Regent Street, W. (Chappell and Co., lessees), November 20 till 28. Admission 1s. 11 a.m. till 7 p.m. Secretary, Maud Venables.

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WANTED.

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